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PARIS, MONDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1983

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## Iraq Tells U.S. It Will Use French Jets to Press Iran

**By Don Oberdorfer**  
*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — Iraq has informed the United States that it intends to use five new French warplanes to bring to a head its three-year war against Iran, an action that would create serious new risks to U.S. interests in the Gulf and to the world's oil supply.

The Iraqi decision to change the tempo and direction of the war, believed to have been made in Baghdad during the summer, was transmitted to officials in Washington in clear and forceful terms in recent weeks, according to State Department sources.

The knowledge of Iraq's intentions, as well as Iran's threats to retaliate by closing the Gulf to all oil shipping, had increased concern in the Reagan administration even before the news media reported that five Super Etendards, capable of firing Exocet air-to-surface missiles, left a French air base for Iraq on Friday.

Informal sources in Paris reported Sunday that the five jets had arrived in Iraq. The Associated Press reported.

Iraq denied Sunday that it would close the strategic Strait of Hormuz, connecting the Gulf and the Gulf of Oman. If Iraq took delivery of French fighter bombers but said it would do so if Iran's oil exports were blocked, United Press International reported, quoting the official radio.

In anticipation of a new crisis in the Gulf, a battle group that includes the aircraft carrier Ranger was moved recently from Central America to the Indian Ocean. The British aircraft carrier Invincible has also arrived in the area. An official said the British fleet was likely to remain until February.

A State Department statement on Sept. 28, reiterating a statement of two months ago, said the United States "would view with grave concern" any attempt to interfere with commercial traffic in the Gulf, the world's most important artery of international oil commerce.

Earlier last month a U.S. interagency task force was set up to study, formulate and coordinate policy in case of more serious trouble. But the United States' limited



The Seoul ministers killed in Rangoon were, clockwise from top left, Suh Sang-chul, the energy minister, So Sok Chun, the economics minister, Kim Dong White, the commerce minister, and Lee Bum Suk, the foreign minister.

## Bomb in Burma Kills Key S. Korean Officials

**The Associated Press**

RANGOON, Burma — A bomb apparently meant for President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea exploded at a memorial site here Sunday, killing four of his cabinet ministers, his ambassador to Burma and several of his highest aides.

The governments of Burma and South Korea said 16 South Koreans were killed by the explosion at the Martyr's Mausoleum in Rangoon minutes before Mr. Chun arrived for the ceremony.

They said at least 48 people were wounded, including two Burmese cabinet ministers and 15 high-ranking South Koreans.

South Korean officials accused North Korea of engineering the explosion, which devastated the senior leadership of Mr. Chun's government. It came on the first day of a scheduled 18-day presidential goodwill tour to six Asian nations.

Burmese and South Korean officials said Mr. Chun and his wife immediately flew back to Seoul, canceling the remainder of the trip. In Seoul, police sealed off the airport before the arrival and stopped reporters from entering.

Prime Minister Kim Sang Hyup held two emergency cabinet meetings in Seoul, decreed a national alert for the armed forces and sent an emergency medical team to Rangoon to care for the South Koreans wounded.

Witnesses and government accounts said Mr. Chun's car was three minutes from the memorial site, where he was to lay a wreath, when a tremendous explosion shattered the mausoleum's roof.

It was not clear what type of explosive was used, but South Korean press agencies said it may have been a time bomb planted in the ceiling of the one-story mausoleum north of the Burmese capital. Burmese leaders assassinated during 1947 civil disturbances are entombed in the memorial.

"The assassination explosion incident against the presidential party was a disaster which has destroyed international political order in a single strike," Information Minister Lee Chin Hui said in Seoul.

He also said "we came to realize once again the true nature of North Korea as a barbarous international terrorist group."

President San Yu of Burma said the authorities from South Korea and Burma were investigating the blast and vowed that the bombers "shall not go unpunished."

In a statement broadcast on state radio, the Burmese president called the explosion a "premeditated and dastardly act of the terrorists who attempted to discredit and disrupt the harmonious and cordial relations" between Burma and South Korea. But he did not specifically accuse North Korea, which also has diplomatic relations with Burma.

The South Koreans offered no proof to support their accusations against North Korea. But they historically have accused the North of terrorist plots to destabilize their noncommunist system ever since the Korean peninsula was divided after World War II.

The explosion came at the start of what had been described as a significant journey for Mr. Chun, making his fourth overseas trip as president since he took over in 1980. His itinerary had included stops in India, Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand and Brunei.

## U.S. May Bar Products Made in Soviet Camps

**By Kenneth B. Noble**  
*New York Times Service*

WASHINGTON — The commissioner of customs has recommended that three dozen products made in the Soviet Union be barred from the United States because he has reason to believe that they were made with the help of forced labor.

The commissioner, William von Raab, said in a letter to Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan that he had information that "reasonably indicates" the products were manufactured with the help of prisoners or other forced labor. Any ban needs the approval of the Treasury Department.

There have been reports that Vietnamese and other Asians were among those being used as forced laborers in the Soviet Union, most recently in construction of the natural gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to Western Europe.

Those who saw copies of the Raab letter, dated Sept. 28, said it covered automobile parts, cathode-ray tube components, cabinets for radio and television sets, wire fences, camera lenses, mattresses, steel drums and barrels, electric motors, and clothing.

Although the value of these items has not been estimated, most government officials say they represent a fairly negligible portion of U.S.-Soviet trade.

Mr. Raab said that if his recommendation was followed, "customs officers will be instructed to withhold release of any such articles" imported from the Soviet Union.

The Treasury Department has sent Mr. Raab's recommendations to Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Mr. Shultz was said to have been furious over recommendations by an interagency export policy group last month that controls on exports to the Soviet Union be tightened.

Federal law bars the importing of items made "wholly, or in part, in any foreign country by convict labor and/or forced labor." Government officials familiar with the issue say that the law has never been enforced.

In February, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, undersecretary of state for political affairs, said in a letter to Senator William L. Armstrong, a Colorado Republican, "It is well known that forced labor has been used on pipeline projects in the past and we have evidence that it is being used now, as well, in domestic pipeline construction."

Mr. Raab has been mentioned as a possible replacement for Lawrence J. Brady, an assistant secretary of commerce, who is an ardent opponent of trade with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Brady has been at the center of battles in the Reagan administration over trade sanctions that he and others proposed to punish Moscow, apparently in reaction to the Soviet downing of a South Korean airliner.

Mr. Brady recommended that the Reagan administration deny an export license sought by a subsidiary of the Hughes Tool Co. to sell \$40 million worth of oil exploration equipment to the Soviet Union.

That touched off a conflict in the administration over its trade policies. Currently, the administration restricts the sale of most high technology equipment to the Soviet Union. But the administration has permitted the sale of such pipeline construction equipment as conventional drilling rigs that involve less advanced technology.

Most recently, equipment to help lay pipelines has been removed from the restricted list.

Dennis Murphy, a customs service spokesman, said Friday: "We received a number of inquiries from a broad range of senators and representatives urging us to take action on this issue." He said that Mr. Armstrong "has met with the commissioner and has particularly urged custom service action."

## Reagan Policy Toward Soviet Union Colored by Pragmatism and Politics

**By Leslie H. Gelb**  
*New York Times Service*

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan's policy toward the Soviet Union is becoming highly pragmatic, seriously confused or heavily political, depending on who is doing the explaining.

During the last three months, he has condemned Moscow for masterminding revolution in Central America, using the Syrians to create turmoil in Lebanon, and barbarously shooting down the South Korean passenger airliner.

In the same period, Mr. Reagan has approved a big grain agreement in which he pledged not to embargo presidential campaign and that arms treaties with Moscow would soften his hawkish image.

Officials are also well aware that congressional support for increasing military spending would lessen if there were no visible efforts at achieving arms control.

It is also true that the White House feels that simultaneous bipartisan backing for more arms and for arms control is the best way to bargain with Moscow.

Mr. Reagan's way of getting this backing, by all accounts, was simply to tell his reluctant aides last week essentially to accept the new strategic arms ideas of a few key legislators and members of his Commission on Strategic Forces.

The result was a grafting of the administration's initial tough approach onto a quite different and more conciliatory one.

The history of the administration's arms control policies has become a kind of metaphor for this mixture of pragmatism, politics and confusion.

The administration brought people to power who never tried to hide their conviction that Soviet leaders lie, cheat and seek world domination. These officials feel that their time in office has only confirmed their worst fears. But in almost all other respects, their deeds have not fit their early words.

At first, they maintained that the Soviet Union had strategic superiority and that Washington could not negotiate until new weapons were deployed and a balance achieved.

Then several months ago and before any new weapons had been deployed or the presumed imbalance righted, these officials began to say the necessary momentum in new weapons programs had been achieved and that was sufficient.

They labeled the unwritten treaty on strategic arms as practically treasonous, yet promised to observe it and ended up accusing the Soviet Union of violating it.

They insisted on a policy of "linkage," meaning that

## Watt Quits Under Senate Pressure, Says He Can No Longer Aid Reagan

**United Press International**

SANTA YNEZ, California — Interior Secretary James G. Watt resigned Sunday, culminating a 24-year career after he created an embarrassment for the Reagan administration with a derogatory remark he made about minority groups.

Mr. Watt, 45, told reporters outside the ranch where he has been vacationing since Wednesday that he had sent a letter to President Ronald Reagan saying he believed his "usefulness to the administration has come to an end."

Pressure for Mr. Watt's resignation has been growing since he said that an advisory panel was made up of a black, a woman, two Jews and a cripple.

Sources here said he had been considering resigning rather than face an almost certain vote of no-confidence in the Republican-controlled Senate next week.

Mr. Watt said he had accomplished the goals he set when he came to Washington and said the U.S. environment was better managed and the country's energy resources more successfully handled.

Mr. Watt and his wife, Lellani, rode down on horseback to meet with reporters. Mr. Watt gave out the one-page typed letter he had had hand-delivered to the White House. It was signed, "Jim."

"With this letter, I ask permission to be relieved of my duties as secretary of the interior as soon as a successor is confirmed," the letter said.

Mr. Watt was forced to resign because of Republican fears that he had become a major political liability to Mr. Reagan's re-election prospects.

At least 10 Republican senators had called for his resignation, and the action by Senate Democrats in making it party policy to call for his removal assured an unfavorable vote on the resolution asking his resignation.

Those reportedly under consideration for the post include: former House Republican leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona; Representative Manuel Lujan of New Mexico, the top Republican on the House Interior Committee; James Buckley, former Republican senator of New York and now president of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty; Energy Secretary Donald P. Hodel, and former Senator Clifford Hansen, Republican Wyoming.



James G. Watt

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## Foes of Arafat, Supported by Syria, Say They Can Drive Him From PLO

**By Thomas L. Friedman**  
*New York Times Service*

BEIRUT — In the last two weeks the Syrian-backed rebels seeking to overthrow Yasser Arafat as the Palestinian guerrilla leader feel they have gained the upper hand.

"We have won the first round, and the majority of the civilian and military cadres in al-Fatah are now on our side," the leader of the rebels, Colonel Sayed Abu Musa, said at a news conference Friday in Baalbek in the Bekaa, Lebanon's eastern valley.

"We are now able to direct the battle, and Yasser Arafat can only make statements detrimental to the Palestinian cause," he said. "Arafat and a few weak followers are now hiding in densely populated areas in Tripoli, making the same mistakes they made in south Lebanon, Beirut and Jordan."

Aided by Mr. Arafat's inability to rally any significant popular or Arab government support behind him, the rebels now seem to be preparing to drive Mr. Arafat out of his last major stronghold in Lebanon — around the northern Lebanese port of Tripoli — and replace him as leader of the Palestinian movement.

If the rebels succeed in toppling



Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO, sits on a bed in a Palestinian refugee camp in northern Lebanon, where guerrillas loyal to him have been driven by the Syrian Army.

the fighting, so, on Sept. 17, Mr. Arafat risked Syria's wrath and returned to Syrian-controlled north Lebanon by boat to show that he and his men were also taking a prominent role in the mountain battle.

On Sept. 24, the Syrians appear to have decided to block Mr. Arafat's bid to capitalize on the Chuf fighting and to eradicate his influence over the Fatah fighters in Lebanon once and for all. They began by issuing an order to 1,000 of Mr. Arafat's followers around the Beirut-Damascus highway town of Shatara to leave the area for the Hermel region in the far northeast corner of Lebanon, which they did.

From Hermel many of these guerrillas eventually found their way to the Badawi and Nahr al

## Tories Report Infiltrated by U.K. Rightists

**The Associated Press**

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party has been infiltrated by rightist extremists, a party report said Sunday, after the Conservatives had been embarrassed by the love affair of a cabinet member.

The report by the Conservative's youth wing cited more than a dozen cases of former members of the National Front, a rightist extremist group, running on Conservative tickets in local elections.

When news surfaced of the report, the party announced that it was tightening selection procedures for parliamentary candidates.

The report was commissioned by the former party chairman, Cecil Parkinson, 58, who is Mrs. Thatcher's trade and industry secretary. Mr. Parkinson's love affair with his former secretary, who is pregnant, has led some party members to say they would seek his resignation at the Conservatives' annual conference starting Tuesday.

In a statement Sunday, Mrs. Thatcher reiterated her support for Mr. Parkinson, saying: "There is no change in the position. The question of resignation does not arise."



# San Marino Affirms Its Traditions: Democracy, Amiability

By Henry Kamm  
New York Times Service

**SAN MARINO** — Two applicants, one a Communist and the other a Socialist, took their places recently in a line of succession, unbroken since at least the year 1244, of elected consuls who have governed this last surviving Italian city-state, which also likes to call itself the world's oldest republic.

The line to which 37-year-old Renzo Renzi, a Communist since he was 17, and Germano de Biagi, a 34-year-old Socialist, succeeded Saturday, taking the place of two physicians, is long not only because it is more than 700 years old but also because San Marino has maintained its democratic government at the cost of letting no one rule alone or for very long.

The walls in the Palazzo Valloni, where foreign and local dignitaries paid homage to the new captains-regent, are covered with the names of their predecessors beginning in 1244 and proceeding from 1360 onward without a break. It takes spacious walls to keep this record, because San Marino always has two captains-regent at a time and changes both every six months.

Maria Antonietta Bonelli, a civil servant and historian who runs the Foreign Ministry, said there was evidence that even before 1244 this republic was governed by two consuls, but the first recorded names date to 1244. San Marino traces its history to the year 300, when St.

Marino sailed across the Adriatic Sea from his native Dalmatia and founded a Christian community on three-peaked Mount Titano.

The 23,000 inhabitants of San Marino remain almost uniformly Roman Catholic, but among some the religious spirit has largely vanished, leaving form without content. At the Mass that is a high point in the inauguration of the captains-regent, the new and the old rulers sat at the altar in their black and white velvet, ermine and lace habits of office, but true to their socialist faith remained ostentatiously nonparticipatory. They looked impassively ahead while others prayed and crossed themselves.

Form dominated over content also in the large number of participants who constitute San Marino's diplomatic corps. Men and women in many countries enjoy the title of consul that San Marino bestows on friends. The titles carry slight responsibilities and afford the holders the pleasure of dressing in tail coats with medals and pearl-gray trousers twice a year, as well as a measure of diplomatic immunity in the countries where they live.

They included this time around the consul general in Washington, Enrico di Portanova, an American-born Italian with a Texas oil fortune, who attended with his banker, lawyer and public relations assistant, and Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, a consul in Washington, whose father, Maxwell N. Rabb, is the American ambassador in Rome. The largely titled jet-set

community enjoyed meeting here again and except for a required, silent courtesy bow, never met the leftist appliance dealers they traveled to so far to honor.

As in most Italian cities, Communists and Socialists have alternated with Christian Democrats in government, but because San Marino is an independent state that belongs to international organizations and attends important conferences, it has sometimes been regarded as a Communist bastion in the heart of a member of the Atlantic alliance.

The Soviet consul general, Yuri Karlov, came to the ceremony, although last month Giordano Bruno Refi, the Socialist secretary of state for foreign affairs, sent him a telegram condemning the shooting down of a South Korean airliner as "a terrorist act." The message had the approval of the Communists in government, Mr. Refi said in an interview.

Mr. Refi said that to understand the spirit of this 24-square-mile (62-square-kilometer) city-state, the 17-century-old sense of independence must be counted more highly than its strength. "We have always been weak, even in earlier days," he said. "Our soldiers are not destined for war. We fought our last war in 1462."

In that conflict, San Marino was allied with the Papal States, the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Urbino against the Malatestas, the potentates of neighboring Rimini. "We won and extended our territory to its present scope," Mr.



Germano de Biagi, left, marching next to Renzo Renzi in a procession through the streets of San Marino after their installation as captains-regent of the world's oldest republic.

Refi said. Mrs. Bonelli called the campaign San Marino's "last colonialist war."

At the twice-a-year changing of the captains-regents, hundreds of middle-aged and heavyweight civilians who form the ceremonial military guards manipulate ammunitionless rifles in approximate unanimity.

"San Marino should be the good conscience of Europe," said the secretary of state. "It should be like this everywhere. We have no enemies."

## France's Tough Foreign Policy Belies Its 'Progressive' Rhetoric

By John Vinocur  
New York Times Service

**PARIS** — The Frenchman who voted Socialist in May 1981 thinking that with François Mitterrand he was striking a blow against interventionism, neocolonialism, and militarism got this: French troops in Chad and Lebanon, the first Atlantic alliance meeting in Paris in 17 years, a French signature on the bottom of President Ronald Reagan's Williamsburg declaration.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

tion on global security, and full Socialist embrace of NATO's projected missile deployment. The list skips over arms deals, support for African autocrats, and business-more-or-less-as-usual with South Africa.

If the Socialist voter is confused or disappointed by the actions, he can always listen to the words. While his government swells the share of the military budget for nuclear weapons and sends its Super Etendard fighters to bombard Syrian positions near Beirut, at least the talk stays "progressive" and Third Worldist. Indeed, at the United Nations General Assembly the week before last, Mr. Mitterrand called for two successive international conferences that would reduce arms expenditures and then transfer the savings to the underdeveloped.

More than two years into the president's seven-year term, French foreign and security policy can occasion-

ally seem like an action movie on which someone stuck a dream-sequence soundtrack. But no matter if the activism and the verbalism do not match. At home, Mr. Mitterrand has never been hurt because of a foreign policy decision. Rather, those Socialists who expected the president to close the French African bases, leave the West German garrisons, and mothball the fleet now talk about "realism in defense of the cause of peace."

Outside France, the president's friends and adversaries have come to judge him only by what he does, with Mr. Mitterrand gaining considerable respect in the process. The Russians have found his government continually mistrustful of them, and unresponsive on the essentials.

Perhaps the president's most ingenious bit of foreign policy activism in Europe, as well as his most significant gesture toward Moscow, was his speech in the West German Bundestag that warned of false notions of disarmament and the dangers of Europe and West Germany decoupling themselves from the United States.

If the analysis of Franz Joseph Strauss, the conservative West German political leader, is correct, the speech meant extra percentage points to Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the March elections, and the victory of a security policy in West Germany that Mr. Mitterrand believes vital for the balance of power in Europe and the independence of France.

Like the Russians, the Americans have found Mr.

Mitterrand dead serious. The Reagan administration has got used to a French reflex to see faults in almost anything the United States can undertake as an acceptable trade-off in a basically good working relationship.

In the case of Chad, the French did not like (in spite of the contradictions) the Americans pushing them into intervening, musing into their zone of influence, and then taking out the U.S. surveillance aircraft. But the tension was verbal; France got involved, stopped the Libyan advance, and fulfilled the role of West African policeman that the Socialist election campaign criticized so harshly in 1981.

The same kind of process took place in Lebanon, with the French criticizing the U.S. naval shelling in support of the government of Amin Gemayel, and then attacking Druse-Syrian positions themselves. The best explanation of the pattern is that it is important for the government and its followers not to seem dragged along in the wake of the Americans.

Finding little to criticize in Mr. Mitterrand's foreign policy that could excite public opinion, the French right has taken to saying it is not very original. Worse, wrote the conservative *Le Quotidien de Paris*, "it is lined up with that of the United States in spite of all the canned anti-American potshots."

France's difficulty in running its policy, particularly in relation to the United States, is proportioning its limited means. In some cases, pragmatism has subverted original intentions. An example is Nicaragua and Latin America, where the government sought

briefly to be active and then found the expense and the potential conflict with the United States too great.

These are tactical issues, but one of the greatest French fears has a fluster last week. Along with the horror scenario of an effectively neutralized West Germany that would end its buffer role between France and the Soviet bloc, the government constantly worries about some kind of Soviet-U.S. arms limitation agreement that would go behind its back and legislate the French nuclear force into insignificance.

Mr. Mitterrand has dealt with the issue by saying France will have nothing to do with the Geneva talks in progress. But while he was talking at the United Nations, Vice President George Bush suggested in Washington that at one point or another the French and British nuclear forces would have to come into the equation.

The formula was vague enough for the State Department to try to finesse it and the government did not press the issue. But it troubled people in France because it goes to the heart of what has the feel of a tacit, quid pro quo arrangement between the Socialists and the Reagan administration.

That understanding says that France and the United States can work in concert and in confidence in many areas if France is not pushed into the nuclear counting game. Through Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, France made clear last week it would not accept being nudged by the Americans. If it thinks it is feeling an elbow, all the other bets could be off.

## Reagan Says Influx of Soviet Arms Raises Doubts on Damascus's Goals

By Bernard Gwertzman  
New York Times Service

**WASHINGTON** — President Ronald Reagan says that a "massive" influx of new Soviet military equipment into Syria, including an advanced SS-21 missile system, has caused the United States "to wonder aloud" about Syria's interest in peace in the region.

In his weekly radio address Saturday, Mr. Reagan confirmed U.S. intelligence reports that the SS-21, a surface-to-surface mobile missile with a range of about 75 miles (121 kilometers), was being introduced in Syria. From Syria, the SS-21 would be able to hit targets in Israel, in Lebanon and on U.S. Navy ships in the Mediterranean.

Although Mr. Reagan said the missiles were already in Syria, U.S. intelligence officials believe they are still en route, with only the launching vehicles and storage facilities in Syria now.

Administration officials said Mr. Reagan was trying to express the concern felt in Washington over Syria's activities, and in particular the major increase in Soviet arms and personnel. He also justified the

U.S. involvement in the Middle East and the continued presence of U.S. Marines in Lebanon as necessary to prevent the region from falling under Soviet sway.

Mr. Reagan also seemed to endorse the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, a move which he had condemned at the time.

"Terrorists in Lebanon violated Israel's northern border, killing innocent civilians," he said of the situation last year. "Syrian forces occupied the eastern part of Lebanon. Israeli military finally invaded from the south to force the PLO away from the border."

### Factions Agree to Meet

Lebanon's warring factions of Druse and Shiite Moslems and Christian Phalangists have agreed to hold preliminary talks in Beirut on Tuesday and a planned national conference of reconciliation is expected to follow shortly afterward, Lebanese political sources said Sunday night.

The sources said that the wider conference, in which the distribution of power would be discussed, was also expected to meet in Lebanon, Reuters reported.

The report came shortly after the U.S. special envoy to the Mideast, Robert C. McFarlane, returned from Damascus to Beirut to brief Lebanese officials on the outcome of his talks with Syria's foreign minister, Abdel Halim Khaddam.

A source at one of the militias that will be represented at the talks said that the preliminary meeting would probably be held in a demilitarized zone on the southeastern edge of Beirut, where a security committee to enforce the cease-fire has been meeting.

He said the wider conference of 11 delegates, which will include Syrian and Saudi observers, was expected to meet somewhere in Lebanon a few days after the preparatory talks.

Two U.S. Marines were slightly wounded late Saturday night and Sunday morning in separate shooting incidents at the Marine camp near Beirut Airport.

A Marine spokesman said "some random shots" continued to be fired throughout the day near the Marine position. Several Marine units remained on alert.



ON TOUR — Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany and Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia inspecting the honor guard after Mr. Kohl arrived in Jeddah on Sunday for official talks. Mr. Kohl has also visited Jordan and Egypt during his Middle East tour.

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## French, Dutch Pay Highest Tax In Rates Study

The Associated Press

**LONDON** — Income taxes in eight industrialized countries, calculated by British officials, show France and the Netherlands imposing the highest rates on average income earners, a report said Sunday.

A table produced by British tax officials and published in the Sunday Times claimed that a single person paid 43 percent of earnings in tax in France and 42 percent in the Netherlands.

The highest tax rate for a married person with two children was the 33 percent imposed in the Netherlands.

The table's tax rates for an average worker:

Married person with two children: Netherlands 33 percent, Sweden 25 percent, West Germany 24 percent, Britain 20 percent, Italy 19 percent, Japan 17 percent, United States 16 percent and France 6 percent.

Single person: France 43 percent, Netherlands 42 percent, West Germany 37 percent, Sweden 35 percent, Britain 32 percent, Italy and United States 24 percent and Japan 22 percent.

## Pragmatism, Politics Color Reagan Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

arms talks could not commence until Moscow had moderated its behavior in Afghanistan, Poland and elsewhere.

Then they agreed to start talks on medium-range forces in Europe at the moment when martial law was imposed in Poland.

This was almost a year after the inauguration, and it took another six months before the strategic arms talks began.

Leaders of the administration also remonstrated against past practices of taking tough bargaining stances and then relenting under domestic pressure. They would take a position and stick to it.

But in the talks on medium-range forces, Mr. Reagan first demanded the zero option, whereby the Soviet Union would destroy all their existing missiles in return for Washington forgoing planned deployments.

Then Mr. Reagan proposed a limit of 300 missile warheads on each side. Finally, two weeks ago, he suggested a higher ceiling of equality but said the United States would not deploy all of its allowed missiles to Europe, leaving Moscow with a numerical advantage.

British missiles, neither of which is acceptable to Washington.

The administration seems to be following the familiar pattern of past Soviet-U.S. negotiations: ambitious U.S. proposals for "real arms control," then pressures from allies and Congress to compromise, U.S. backpedaling over several years, and finally a modest agreement or nothing.

## Dutch Financier Arrested in U.S.

Los Angeles Times Service

**LOS ANGELES** — An international financier and land broker has been arrested after being charged by federal authorities in a huge land fraud involving thousands of investors who were cheated out of up to \$2 billion.

Federal authorities accused Bernard Whitney, 64, a native of the Netherlands, Friday of engineering the largest land fraud in American history. A second man, Reinik Kamer, of the Netherlands, was also indicted but remains a fugitive.

The two men were charged with luring Dutch, Belgian, West German and American investors into buying highly overpriced land in the Antelope Valley, Utah, New York and Texas.

The fact is that Soviet and U.S. nuclear forces are asymmetrical, meeting different strategic and political needs, and neither side is prepared to give up its advantages.

To make matters worse, there is no mutual trust.

These are not the best ingredients for making big compromises and far-reaching treaties.

In administration deliberations concluded last week, State Department experts proposed an intermediate step, an expanded version of the unratified arms treaty, an idea that many officials felt could be made to mesh with the Soviet position.

Officials said that Mr. Reagan did not reject it out of hand, and that it could be a fallback.

U.S. concessions come at a time when Soviet leaders seem to have concluded that they cannot deal with the Reagan administration.

Increasingly, the State Department view resembles the thinking of many outside experts, namely the chances for a breakthrough are not good until overall Soviet-U.S. relations improve.

A positive atmosphere is needed for the kind of difficult arm compromises that would have to be made, but the prospects for a breakthrough of those dimensions seem dimmest of all.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Mugabe Talks of Seizing Whites' Land

HARARE, Zimbabwe (UPI) — Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe warned that his government would seize white-owned land if British aid to his country were stopped.

Under the British-designed independence constitution the Zimbabwe government is forced to buy land from whites and barred from expropriating it. At independence three years ago Britain gave Zimbabwe \$50 million to buy land for black peasant resettlement. British government officials in Zimbabwe have played down reports of aid cuts over the continued detention of three white air force officers. The officers were among six airmen acquitted in the high court of plotting the sabotage last year of 13 warplanes at an airbase.

Mr. Mugabe told a party rally Saturday that his government would not tax the black majority to raise money to buy land from "British settlers" if British aid stopped. "I swear by Mbumba Nehanda (a tribal spirit) that Zimbabweans will not be taxed for land owned by British settlers if Margaret Thatcher (Britain's prime minister) decides to stop British aid to Zimbabwe," Mr. Mugabe said.

### President of Uganda Offers Amnesty

KAMPALA, Uganda — President Milton Obote offered an amnesty Sunday to exiled former presidents Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa and promised them free run of the country and the media to make their dissenting views known.

In a speech marking Uganda's 21st anniversary of independence from Britain, Mr. Obote made no mention of an amnesty for the predecessor of the former president, Idi Amin, who was overthrown by Tanzanian troops in April 1979. Mr. Amin is in exile in Saudi Arabia.

After Mr. Obote won the presidency in a general election in 1980, Mr. Lule and Mr. Binaisa fled to London where they head anti-Obote exile groups. Earlier this year Mr. Obote had accused Mr. Lule of hiring mercenaries to overthrow his government.

### Gunmen Kidnap Guatemalan Editor

GUATEMALA CITY (AP) — A dozen gunmen seized a top Guatemalan newspaper executive and dragged him from his house in the southern part of the capital early Sunday, a relative said.

Pedro Julio Garcia, 60, director general of the conservative *Prensa Libre* newspaper, was kidnapped after gunmen entered his house firing automatic weapons, according to the relative.

No one has claimed responsibility for the kidnapping. It was the third time an executive of the *Prensa Libre*, Guatemala's biggest newspaper, had been kidnapped or murdered since Jan. 28, 1979, when a gunman killed the former deputy director, Isidoro Zarco. On March 5, 1982, gunmen kidnapped the director, Alvaro Contreras Velez. He was freed five months later after relatives paid \$300,000 and published a gazette communique in several newspapers.

### India Sends More Troops to Punjab

NEW DELHI (AP) — The Indian government ordered additional security forces into the troubled state of Punjab Sunday after Sikh gunmen wounded two people, authorities said. Officials in Punjab said police and paramilitary troops marched through the streets of Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana and other sensitive towns.

The Sikh-dominated northern Indian state was declared a disturbed region and police and military were given emergency powers last Friday to shoot citizens on sight, search homes and make arrests without warrants. Earlier, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's federal government took direct control of the state administration.

Authorities said a Hindu trader was shot and wounded at Jagraon, 30 miles (48 kilometers) southeast of Kapurthala. In another incident, two Sikh extremists opened fire and wounded a Hindu near the Sikh holy city of Amritsar, the officials said. The victim was reported in stable condition.

### 8 Arrested After Protests in Pakistan

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (UPI) — Six persons were arrested in the western Punjab town of Faisalabad, after the police charged an estimated 15,000 anti-government protesters, officials said.

Also on Saturday, two persons were arrested at a rally in the Sind province town of Khairpur. 760 miles (1,220 kilometers) southeast of Islamabad, and demonstrators burned two oil tanker trucks on a road in the central section of the province, opposition sources said. For the past eight weeks, Sind has been the center of the anti-government protests.

The protesters in Faisalabad, 175 miles south of Islamabad, threw rocks at buses and buildings before they were dispersed, officials said. They were calling for an end to six years of martial law.

### 2 Russians Are Said to Defect to U.S.

ANKARA (AP) — A uniformed Soviet general walked across the heavily guarded frontier into Turkey several weeks ago, asked for political asylum in the West and was flown to the United States, informed sources say here.

But two Istanbul daily newspapers that published the defection report on Saturday, *Hurriyet* and *Gumushine*, retracted their stories on Sunday, saying the reports could not be confirmed by officials. In Washington, a State Department spokesman refused to confirm or deny the report. There was no official comment from Turkish or Soviet officials.

Informed sources in Ankara, who requested anonymity, said Saturday that the general had been flown to the United States. They said the defection took place several weeks ago but could provide no details on the general's identity.

In Tokyo, police reported that a 52-year-old Soviet scientist had left Sunday for the United States after being granted political asylum there. The scientist, Yevgeny A. Novikov, a physicist and member of the Soviet Academy of Science, said he was seeking academic freedom.

### Armenian Charged in French Attack

PARIS (Reuters) — A Turkish-born Armenian suspected of designing a bomb that killed eight persons and wounded 54 at Orly airport south of Paris last July has been charged with attempted murder, court sources say.

Nayir Soner, 22, was flown to Paris under heavy police escort after his arrest Saturday at Marseilles's Saint Charles railroad station, where he had arrived on an overnight train from the capital. Police sources said that six other Armenians had been detained since Thursday and were being questioned on the suspicion that they may have sheltered Mr. Soner.

Mr. Soner landed at Orly's southern terminal, the site of the July 15 explosion, and was taken to a court in the Paris suburb of Cretet where he was charged with attempted murder and with being an accomplice to murder, the court sources said. Police sources said Mr. Soner was believed to be a leader of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, which claimed the blast, and that he was suspected of designing the firing circuit for the explosives.

### For the Record

Fishery specialists meet Monday in Rome to discuss worldwide strategies for managing marine wildlife and setting limits on catches. (Reuters)

An earthquake struck northern Chile Sunday, sending people fleeing to the streets but causing no deaths or major damage, authorities said. Six days earlier, a stronger tremor in the same area killed four persons, injured several dozen people and left hundreds homeless. (UPI)

## Americans Define Ideal President By Personal Qualities, Poll Finds

New York Times Service

**NEW YORK** — Americans cite personal qualities more often than political ones to describe their notion of an ideal president, according to a New York Times-CBS News poll.

Most of the 1,587 respondents to the poll, which was conducted between Sept. 24 and Sept. 28, could name as many as three key qualities they consider important in a president. But the survey found that only one-third of them could think of someone in public life who came close to embodying those attributes.

President Ronald Reagan was named as meeting the ideal more than any other individual, but just as many people mentioned various Democrats as mentioned Mr. Reagan and other Republicans.

Only three persons offered the names of women when asked who came closest to the representing the qualities they deemed important in a president. One woman named former Representative Bella Abzug of New York, a Democrat; another named Senator Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, a Republican; and a third, Shirley Temple Black, a former ambassador to Ghana, would be included.

Thirty-five percent said honesty was one of the three most important qualities a president could have. Eighteen percent listed compassion and 17 percent intelligence. These traits were mentioned more often than a variety of leadership skills or any other grouping of qualities. Interviews with some of the poll respondents indicated that there was no clear relation between the qualities people named and how they vote.

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## AMERICAN TOPICS

### Heritage Foundation

Just a decade after its launching with a \$250,000 grant from the Colorado brewer Joseph Coors, the Heritage Foundation has made its mark on Washington and the United States as a leading conservative research organization and intellectual center.

The foundation's president, Edwin J. Feulner, points to its new \$9.5-million building overlooking Capitol Hill as a symbol of its "acceptance as part of Washington's public policy establishment." Indeed, its place in that establishment was firmly marked when President Ronald Reagan served as keynote speaker at the foundation's 10th anniversary celebration last week.

As a think tank, the Heritage Foundation is nowhere near as well known in the capital as the Brookings Institution, commonly identified with Democratic and moderate to liberal causes, and the American Enterprise Institute, usually seen as moderate and Republican in orientation. But it has taken out a distinctive role as a source of conservative research and analysis.

Its reports, bulletins and scholarly journal articles on domestic and foreign policy issues flow regularly and copiously to members of Congress and their staffs, the executive branch, the news media and the academic community.

The foundation has not hesitated to criticize President Reagan for straying, as it sees it, from the conservative path. One year into his administration, it issued the president a "report card" giving him a mark of only 62 percent for compliance on conservative issues.

"Our job is to run the flag all the way up the flagpole and hope people salute," said Mr. Feulner. "The fact that Ronald Reagan saluted 62 percent of the time wasn't bad at all. Jimmy Carter would have saluted 20 percent of the time."

Unlike Washington's other two leading think tanks, Heritage does not take government grants. Its funding comes from corporate, foundation and individual contributions, which this year total about \$10 million.

The closing of the two prime fishing grounds means that Alaska will produce only an estimated 25 million pounds of king crab in the 1983-84 season, compared to a recent peak of almost 200 million pounds in the 1980-81 season. Prospects for natural replenishment of the king crab stocks are considered poor, meaning soaring prices in the future too.

### McCarthy Encore?

Repeating after almost three weeks of hospitalization for a mild heart attack, Eugene J. McCarthy, says he hasn't made up his mind about a fourth try at the presidency.

Mr. McCarthy, 67, a former Democratic senator from Minnesota, had the heart attack on Labor Day. In an interview with the Los Angeles Times, he said he is still contemplating his political future, but he sounded very much like a man ready to take a crack at the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination.

"Once you get into it, you can't stop," he said of presidential politics. "It's hard to stop running then to start."

Mr. McCarthy unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination in 1968 and 1972, and in 1976 he ran for the presidency as an independent. In 1980, he turned his back on his party and supported Ronald Reagan because he regarded President Jimmy Carter as incompetent.

But now he is fed up with Mr. Reagan and is prepared to return to the Democratic fold.

Mr. McCarthy's stands on some of the major issues are often more original than those of the current Democratic presidential contenders, suggesting that when Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a New York Democrat, once said of him still applies.

"Hands down, Gene McCarthy is the most intellectually competent man to appear in politics since Woodrow Wilson," Mr. Moynihan said. "He has no equal in his conception of the issues."

Mr. McCarthy, for instance, would tackle the unemployment problem by cutting the work week from 40 to 35 hours and by curbing or even eliminating paid overtime. He said

# Requirements for High School Diploma Are Stiffened in U.S.

By Edward B. Fiske

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The academic requirements for a high school diploma in the United States are becoming stiffer.

In the last three years at least 20 states have increased the number of academic courses necessary for a high school degree and the number of courses students must take in English, mathematics and science. More than 15 other states are considering such steps.

The trend extends from New York, where the board of regents has tentatively approved curriculum standards that include proficiency in foreign language, to California, where the legislature has voted to restore guidelines that were abolished in the late 1960s.

The concern with academic standards reflects a growing belief that the quality of public schools is not as high as it should be and that flabbiness in high school curricula is one reason why.

In April the National Commission on Excellence in Education described high school curricula as "diluted and diffused to the point that they no longer have a central purpose."

The move toward tighter standards in high schools has parallels elsewhere, notably in a trend toward higher entrance requirements at public colleges and universities. But it has aroused anxiety among some educators who, while not disputing the need to increase quality, argue that toughening requirements is a simplistic solution to a complex problem.

"I worry that we are setting mechanical standards rather than addressing the real learning problems of the youngsters who will have to meet them," said Harold Howe II, a former U.S. commissioner of education who is now a professor at the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University.

Three years ago, according to the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 42 states required that a student take one or more specific courses to receive a high school degree. Six states had no statewide requirements in 1980 and left such matters entirely up to local districts. Two others, Nebraska and Vermont, mandated a total number of courses but required no specific ones.

Of the 20 states that have increased the number of core courses required for a high school diploma since 1980, Illinois acted most recently. That state, which previously required only three years of English and one of social studies, adopted a law mandating three years of English, two of math, science and social studies and one of either music, art or a foreign language.

In Florida, where such matters were previously left up to local school districts, the legislature in July passed an educational reform act stipulating that students must have 22 credits to receive a diploma in 1985 and 24 in 1987.

The law also requires students to complete a specific set of courses, including four years of English and three of math, science and social studies.

Ralph Turlington, who heads the State Education Department, estimates that less than 10 percent of this year's high school seniors would graduate if the 1987 requirements were in effect.

California abolished statewide graduation requirements in 1969 in keeping with the trend toward giving students more choice. In July the legislature reversed this policy, adopting an act requiring three years of English and social studies, two of math and science, two of physical education and one of either fine arts or a foreign language. At least 15 other states are considering similar moves.

In some ways the "action plan" now receiving final touches from the New York Board of Regents is the most ambitious. The plan would make New York the only state to require proficiency in a foreign language for all students, even those not going to college.

On the basis of an analysis of 8,800 high school transcripts for the National Commission on Excellence in Education, a researcher found that students today were spending less time on traditional academic subjects and more on "personal service" courses such as driver education or home economics than their counterparts did in the 1960s.

In June the Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, composed of governors, high corporate officials and others, said, "Half of all high school graduates take no mathematics or science beyond the 10th grade."

The National Commission on Excellence in Education is recommending that schools focus on five "new basics" consisting of four years of English, three of math, science and social studies and a half-year of computer science. The National Center for Education Statistics estimates that less than 4 percent of college-bound students and less than 2 percent of all students now fulfill these criteria.

With the exception of a few states like New York and California, the initiative for stiffer graduation standards has come from political and business leaders rather than educators or education organizations.

Some argue that the new requirements are unfair to students who are not going to college. For this reason, a legislative committee in Pennsylvania dropped a proposal to force the State Board of Education to require students to pass two years of foreign language courses.

School officials in Philadelphia and San Francisco have resisted new state curriculum requirements because of the potential cost, while others have questioned the emphasis on basic subjects, especially for students in low-income areas.

"We aren't opposed to improving education," said Herb Cooke, executive director of the Classroom Teachers of Dallas. "But there's more to education than math, reading and science."

In the case of disadvantaged students, he said, "If they don't get the training in things like music and art at school, they're never going to get it."

## In Kansas City, Soviet TV Is Accused of Distorting City's Image

By Wallace Turner

New York Times Service

KANSAS CITY, Missouri — A year ago some Kansas City denizens volunteered to help a Soviet television crew film a documentary about American life. But when they saw the product three weeks ago, they were sorry.

"As well as I know this town, having been born here, as was my father, I could not have put together a show that would demolish Kansas City with the meanness of

spirit they did," said Morton Sosland, editor of Miller and Baking News, a trade publication.

According to Mr. Sosland and others who have seen it, the film unfairly depicts economic distress, mistreatment of blacks and exploitation by bankers and "greedy capitalist beetles."

The Soviet documentary is entitled "In the Middle of America." The film is not expected to be shown publicly in the United States, though parts of it will be broadcast this month on the ABC News television program "20/20."

An ABC News production unit brought an English-dubbed copy of the finished documentary here to show to people who had been interviewed for it and to film their reactions for use on the program.

"It is devastating," Mr. Sosland said. "I have used the expression that it is very sad for that many people to see something so twisted and distorted."

He said that after an opening

aerial view of Kansas City, the film showed Fort Osage, a display recreating the pioneer era, while the announcer said, "This was a fort from which these people stole the land from those noble Indians."

"It was all downhill from there," Mr. Sosland said. In his judgment, the treatment of Kansas City showed that Soviet leaders "obviously are stung by Mr. Reagan's attack that they are not moral, not trustworthy and have no regard for human dignity."

"They said over and over, 'This is a country that accuses us of immorality,'" he said.

He said he had consented to take part in the interviews because he wanted to promote his view that it was naive of President Jimmy Carter to embargo grain sales to the Soviet Union and wise of President Ronald Reagan to remove the embargo.

Mr. Sosland said that while almost all of what he said in the interview concerned the grain embargo, the documentary never mentioned that the Soviet Union purchases grain from the United States.

He said he was quoted as saying that American farmers were destitute, which he called an overstatement of farming's economic problems, and that farm prices were at their lowest in history, which he said was untrue.

He said the film emphasized mistreatment of black people, economic hardship of the underprivileged and a system dominated by banks. Bank signs flashed repeatedly on the screen, including one sign of Coldwell Banker, a real estate com-

pany, which he took to be the result of misunderstanding.

Some of the scenes described as being in Kansas City were actually in other cities, he said, such as one of a man pawing through a trash barrel in Lafayette Park in Washington, with the White House visible in the distance.

The city's mayor, Richard Berkley, said he was "very positive and enthusiastic about Kansas City" when he was questioned on camera. He said this might explain why he did not appear in the film.

Charles Colborne, a student at the Kansas City campus of the University of Missouri, said he was one of eight students questioned on camera. He did not appear in the documentary. No one said he was misquoted, he said, "but we were misrepresented."

Anne Canfield manages Prime Time, an agency of the Chamber of Commerce, which helped the Soviet reporters and camera crew last year.

She said the crew interviewed workers at Arco Steel Co. on a workday and then returned on Sunday to get film that made the plant look closed and abandoned. This was used to support the theme that Kansas City workers spend most waking hours worrying about losing their jobs.

### Macy's South

New Yorkers transplanted to Florida or just visiting during the cold winter months will get a touch of home when R.H. Macy & Co. opens its first Florida branch this week.

The new Macy's in North Miami doesn't expect much business in heavy winter wear; it will emphasize clothing suited to southern Florida's outdoor life and climate.

The store's 94th branch will sell T-shirts and coffee mugs with an "I Love Florida" motif rather than the "I Love New York" theme on items stocked in the mother store in New York City's Herald Square.

Macy's officials say they are looking in southern Florida because the area's population growth rate is one of the country's highest. That, no doubt, is why Bloomingdale's plans an opening in southern Dade County next spring.



Eugene J. McCarthy

this approach, which he calls "redistribution of work," would put 5 million of the 10 million now unemployed back to work.

He said that Senator Ernest F. Hollings, a South Carolina Democrat, is the only presidential candidate whose views are close to his own.

### Symphony Tour

Off on a two-week tour of America's Sun Belt, the Washington-based National Symphony has begun a "Tour America" project aimed at taking the orchestra and conductor Mstislav Rostropovich around the country over the next few years.

Mr. Rostropovich says he wants to take the orchestra to parts of the country "that are not too well-nourished musically."

"I don't think they need us in the big cities. They get the Chicago and the Philadelphia [orchestras] there. But I think we have this obligation to the rest of the country. We have to do something significant for the people there," he said.

The tour started last week in Houston, hardly a musically malnourished city because of its opera company and symphony orchestra. Other stops are Albuquerque, New Mexico; Las Vegas; San Francisco; and Phoenix, Arizona.

Although the "Tour America" project is just beginning, Mr. Rostropovich hinted at expanding it in the future.

"When was the last time a big orchestra played in Alaska? Or when one played in small-town Kansas to those farmers who sell wheat to the Soviet Union?" the Soviet émigré asked.

### Crab Famine

The news from Alaska is bleak for fanciers of Alaskan king crab: stocks of the delicacy are down dramatically and soon will be rare in seafood markets and restaurants.

The Alaska Department of Fish and Game has ordered a total shutdown of the state's prime king crab fishing grounds, saying that the population of male king crabs, the only kind which may be legally fished, is down to record low levels. Female king crabs captured for a survey were all found to be barren.

### One-Liners

The American Express Company says it will donate a penny to the Statue of Liberty restoration project each time a customer charges a purchase to his or her American Express card over the next three months.

Black doctors account for only 2.6 percent of America's physicians and more are urgently needed, says a report by officials from eight predominantly black health professions schools.

### Americana

Americans concerned about staying or becoming fit are finding new allies in restaurants catering to health-conscious patrons.

If a diner says hold the sugar, or salt, or fat, or red meat, more and more restaurants are willing to oblige, according to the group, Public Voice for Food and Health Policy. It said that 22 restaurants examined in its small but in-depth six-month study were responding to both their customers' expressed interest in nutrition and to "positive market indications."

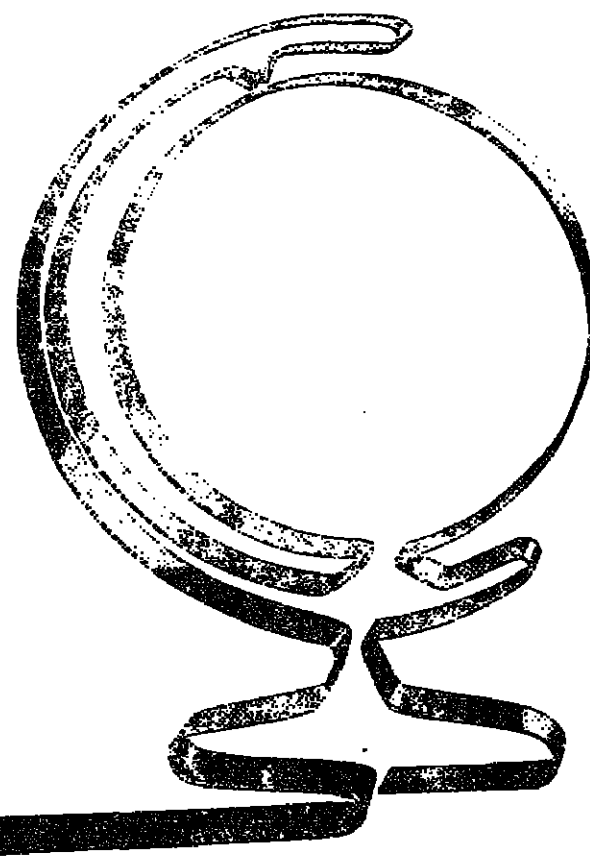
The group also checked up on fast-food outlets and found that most of their offerings are high in calories, fat and salt. But it noted that the fast-food chains do not ignore nutrition and even increasingly promote it in their advertisements.

A different survey by the National Restaurant Association offers some corroborating evidence: 67 percent of women and 53.8 percent of men polled say they try to patronize restaurants that offer fresh vegetables and salads. But in the trade association's survey, the diners' top consideration in their choice of eating establishments is the restaurant's cleanliness. The tastiness of the food was a consideration, too — but only after the No. 2 criterion, the cleanliness of the restaurant's bathrooms.

## If you're planning to do business in Germany, you should look for a bank that understands a bit more than just German business.

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**HYATT HOTELS**



## U.S. Admits It Overstated Aid To Areas Hurt by Peso's Fall

By Wayne King  
New York Times Service

HOUSTON — Nearly \$100 million described by the Reagan administration as aid to areas hurt by devaluations of the Mexican peso went to underwrite offshore oil rigs built in Mississippi and for the development of rental property near Palm Springs, California, federal officials say.

Much of the rest of the total of about \$116 million described as aid to areas near the Mexican border is money that was previously earmarked for border areas under existing federal programs, the administration confirmed.

Border area officials say some existing grant programs have been accelerated because of the peso crisis but that very little new money has been made available.

Critics say the administration's labeling of existing funds as border aid is a suggestion, for political purposes, that there is new aid money when there is not. They say there is no suggestion of misuse of funds, but rather, a misrepresentation of reality.

President Ronald Reagan, after a trip to the stricken border area, set up the Southwest Border Action Group in mid-August and appeared to give it significant influence in the administration by appointing Vice President George Bush as its head.

Over a two-week period in September, Mr. Bush's office reported some \$116 million in federal proj-

ects that it said would help the border areas' shattered economies. These areas are heavily dependent on commerce involving Mexicans, which was brought almost to a standstill by successive devaluations of the peso.

The disclosure by The El Paso Times, which serves a depressed border area, that a loan guarantee of \$94.8 million to Global Marine Inc. of Houston had actually underwritten private financing for three oil rigs already built brought sharp reaction from border officials, notably Representative Ron Coleman, a Texas Democrat whose district includes El Paso.

In a statement through a spokesman in Washington, Mr. Coleman said that "the credibility of the vice president's border working group has been called into question and may be seriously damaged."

He added that the border working group was "a misleading grandstand play by the administration to make it appear that the border region will receive more assistance than it actually will."

In Washington, Shirley Green, a spokeswoman for the vice president, read a statement from Global Marine, conceding that the loans guaranteed by the government, through the Department of Commerce, had been used to underwrite three rigs already in operation.

But the company maintained that the federal guarantee made it possible for it to "participate in the ownership" of a new rig to be built

at the Marathon LeTourneau Shipyard in Brownsville.

Global Marine said in its statement that "the timely delivery of this rig will insure the continued employment of more than 500 workers at the facility."

However, there was no direct financial connection between the loan guarantee and the construction of the new rig, nor any demonstration that it would not have been built anyway, with or without the guarantee of a unrelated loan to a partner in the construction.

Mr. Bush's spokeswoman conceded, moreover, that Global Marine's participation in the construction of the rig represented about \$11 million, not \$94.8 million.

Although she maintained that the listing of the loan guarantee was justified, she confirmed that none of the money designated as border aid was new money specifically earmarked as such. "That is going to be true of all those that are going to be done," she added.

The administration was also criticized by Mr. Coleman for including a \$4.3-million low-interest government loan to construct privately owned housing for the elderly in Cathedral City, California. The loan was listed as one of the border aid projects.

Although the housing is for the elderly, it is 80 miles (130 kilometers) from the border and has been described as being more dependent on resort trade than Mexican commerce.



A demonstrator was arrested after he broke through security guards at the Lisbon airport and ran toward a car carrying Mozambique's president, Samora Machel.

## Machel Blames Pretoria for Africa Unrest

Reuters

LISBON — President Samora Machel of Mozambique, on a visit to Portugal, has blamed South Africa for instability in southern Africa.

Mr. Machel, who began a five-day visit on Friday, was speaking at a dinner given in his honor Saturday by the Portuguese president, Antonio Ramalho Eanes. Mr. Machel said: "It is the racist regime of South Africa which is responsible for the insecurity, for the climate of instability and for the threat of a generalized war in our region."

Mr. Machel likened the South African government to that of Nazi Germany, saying it used the same methods of aggression, intimidation, blackmail and propaganda.

"We wish to establish solid relations with all peoples of our region," said Mr. Machel. "And when we speak of the people of South Africa we speak of all South Africans."

Mr. Machel, whose Marxist government came to power when Mozambique became independent from Portugal in June 1975, also urged greater cooperation between the two countries. He said Mozambique has overcome the divisions of the 10-year war for independence, of which he was a leader. "We have learned how to overcome complex, stop hatred, and overcome the trauma of a process that was difficult and painful for both peoples," he said.

## A Rare Public Squabble Embarrasses Sweden's Nobel Literature Panel

By James M. Markham  
New York Times Service

STOCKHOLM — It has been some time since the venerable Swedish Academy, founded in 1786 by King Gustav III, has been quite so embarrassed.

The high point of the staid academy's yearly cycle, the solemn announcement of the Nobel Prize in Literature, was marred Thursday by a squabble over the merits of its own decision.

For all its global renown, the Nobel Prize in Literature, and the people who give it, are regarded by Swedes with good-humored familiarity and affection. They are alive to the ties of the 18 cultural hours of the Swedish Academy — their likes and dislikes, the authors that some of them have translated into Swedish, then promoted for the prize, and other foibles.

When October comes, Stockholm taxi drivers weigh in with an air of insight and discrimination the claims of rumored Nobel prize candidates. This year there was a growing conviction that it was time for another woman — Marguerite Yourcenar of France, Doris Lessing, who was born in Rhodesia, or Nadine Gordimer of South Africa. Five of the 80 Nobel laureates have been women.

For the man in the street, the academy's choice of William Golding, the 72-year-old British novelist, at least had the merit of not being eclectic. Within minutes of the 1 P.M. announcement of the winner at the stock exchange, Stockholm bookstores were dusting off copies of "Lord of the Flies" for their show windows.

But for Arner Lindkvist, one of the most influential members of the academy and a headstrong grand old man of Swedish letters, the choice of Mr. Golding was an affront. And, breaking a pledge of silence that the jury had about its own deliberations, the 77-year-old poet and essayist did what has never been done before.

He told reporters that he did not think Mr. Golding deserved the prize. And then he boycotted the academy's traditional lunch at the Gyllene Freden restaurant in the Old City. The restaurant's name means "golden peace" — something the academy longs for today.

Since he was appointed to the academy in 1968, Mr. Lindkvist, an authority on Spanish, French and Italian writing, has translated his views into prizes. The Lindkvist hand was detectable in the naming last year of Gabriel Garcia

Márquez, the Colombian novelist, in 1977 of Vicente Aleixandre, the Spanish poet, and in 1971 of Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet.

Mr. Lindkvist, a radical publication novelist in his youth and a 1958 winner of the Lenin Peace Prize, has urged the jury toward bold, experimental and revolutionary writers. He has been this kind of writer himself.

He has turned out lyrical and satirical books with such titles as "Bridges of the Night," "Life as Grass," and "Daranga, or the Shepherd's Milk." Two years ago, he had a heart attack and was in a coma for four months; he is now writing an account of the dreams he had while unconscious.

The Lindkvist candidate this year was Claude Simon, a pioneer of the French nouveau roman who, Mr. Lindkvist argued in committee, had exercised a profound "Futurist" influence over Latin American writers. On Sept. 29, he contended, the academy had split 5 to 3, Mr. Golding over Mr. Simon.

On Thursday, according to Lars Gyllenstein, the academy's permanent secretary, the academy voted by a "great majority" for Mr. Golding as what he said was a triumph. "Lindkvist took part and did not oppose the qualifications of Golding for the prize," Mr. Gyllenstein said in an interview Friday.

But when Mr. Lindkvist was asked what he thought of the choice, he let fly with the biting judgment that Mr. Golding was a decent enough writer but hardly of Nobel caliber. Apparently piqued at being rebuffed over Mr. Simon, Mr. Lindkvist told journalists in telephone interviews that the selection of Mr. Golding amounted to a "coup" against him. Despite violating his vow of silence, there has been no indication that the academy will repudiate Mr. Lindkvist.

The Lindkvist tale underscores the eclectic selection process that has characterized the prize since it was first awarded to René Sully Prudhomme of France, hardly an enduring talent, in 1901. Other choices that, it could be argued, have not met the test of time include Giosuè Carducci, Rudolf Eucken, Isidoro Benavente, Grazia Deledda, Paul von Heyse, Carl Spitteler, Ivan A. Bunin and Mikhail A. Sholokhov.

The academy has never recognized Joseph Conrad, Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Henry James and Vladimir Nabokov. A number of obscure Scandinavians, including two members of the Swedish Academy, won the prize. Two other Scandinavians, August Strindberg and Henrik Ibsen, did not.

## Midwest Farmers, Starting to Fight Back, Seek New Allies

By Andrew H. Malcolm  
New York Times Service

CHICAGO — About 60 angry farmers, who had tried to protest a farm foreclosure by occupying a bank, were standing around in the sun on the main street of Stockton, Kansas, the other morning. The farmers, from several surrounding counties and states, broke up into several discussions on where their region's protest movement should now direct its attentions.

But soon they gravitated to the fire hydrant where a muscular black man with braided hair had begun to lecture. "You farmers are so dumb," said Ernie Chambers, a state senator from Omaha. "They are going to pick you off one by one like this. Do you hear what I'm saying? Didn't you ever notice the only ones who ever get what they want in this country are those who show they're willing to fight for it? And I don't mean with words and conversations."

Agreeing murmurs and nods

swept through the crowd. It seemed another sign among many that the growing farm protest movement across the country's midsection was flowing in some new, more militant directions as fall descended on the harvested fields.

The U.S. farm sector faces a growing number of foreclosures and bankruptcies as a result of continued rising costs and declining real income. In addition, many crops withered from the worst drought in decades.

Alan Libbra is head of the Illinois Farm Coalition, one of many state groups uniting a number of discontented groups, including farmers, union members, blacks, environmentalists and anti-nuclear protesters. He and other protest leaders have expressed concern that the personal despair they routinely find in their meetings might somehow turn to violence.

Then on Sept. 29, according to police, a farmer in Rushton, Minnesota, who had been dispossessed

and given a bad credit rating, lured two bankers to an ambush on his former farm and shot both to death, committing suicide later.

"My greatest fear is that the tragedy will put some ideas in people's minds that I'd rather not have there," said David Ostendorf, a rural organizer in Iowa.

Joe Chrasil, a leader of the Minnesota coalition known as Coact, said, "We need to have progress and to steer all these frustrations into constructive channels."

But this year the meetings will also include detailed instructions on sit-ins, office occupations and other forms of civil disobedience. "We'll be inviting the big grain companies to debate," Mr. Chrasil

said, "and if they don't show, we'll bus our people over to them and practice what we learned in the civil disobedience seminars."

Soon Merle Hansen, a Nebraska farmer, will bring a handful of his peers here for a meeting that the Rev. Jesse Jackson has arranged with some black mayors for both sides to explore common interests. Mr. Hansen, an officer of the new North American Farm Alliance, a regional coalition, is trying to broaden the farmers' base of support.

Mr. Chambers, the black legislator, was applauded by his sidewalk audience in Kansas, including Mr. Hansen, when he said: "You know, you farmers have a lot of land but few members. Us blacks have no land but a lot of numbers. We really ought to get together, don't you think?"

A number of state protest groups have also designated Nov. 1 as Farm Revolt Day. But instead of dumping milk and shooting live-

stock to protest low prices, this time the farmers will take the milk and meat into the cities and distribute the food free to blacks, union members and unemployed laborers as a sign of unity.

Other farmers will lobby jointly with union representatives in support of state legislation benefiting farmers and the unemployed. Last month the United Automobile Workers officially joined the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition. Union members, skilled in public confrontations, are training farmers and will be accompanying them in at-

tempts to disrupt and halt some involuntary sales of farms.

Many volunteers are already organizing politically to defeat some state and federal legislators regarded as prime opponents in next year's elections.

"We've seen a lot of ebb and flow historically in farm movements," said Mr. Libbra. "But this one is different. It goes way beyond the farm. Those people in policy positions who think we are going to just dry up and blow away had better start thinking in the long term."

## U.S. Is Urged to Step Up Anti-Missile Laser Work

By Walter Pincus  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — An advisory panel has urged Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger to step up research on new space weapons beginning the fiscal year that starts next Oct. 1, including work on lasers for use against enemy missiles and a program to harden new U.S. missiles so they can withstand laser weapons themselves.

Mr. Weinberger is expected to make his decision this week or next on the recommendations of the commission, which was headed by the former National Aeronautics and Space Administration director, James Fletcher. It was established after President Ronald Reagan's speech earlier this year calling for a major new effort to find some space defense against ballistic missiles.

Pentagon officials said last week that an expanded U.S. program was needed to counter recent Soviet progress.

The "most dangerous" advance, according to an official, is a system of satellites that could apparently direct cruise missiles launched from Backfire bombers toward U.S. ships at sea anywhere in the world.

Until recently, analysts had said they believed that these satellites, called Rooks, could be used only for surveillance of ships at sea. Now, however, it is believed that they can transmit location data down to Soviet aircraft and perhaps even to the guidance systems of cruise missiles already in flight.

Soviet satellites "will give a new dimension" to weapons technology, a Pentagon official said. "They will pick out military targets, locate

[them] and send that data direct to weapons systems."

The Pentagon plans to create a similar capability, but this is not expected to be operational until the late 1980s, sources said. The Navy is also planning a satellite navigation system to give the proposed Trident-2, a long-range submarine-launched missile, its planned high degree of accuracy through updated information while in flight.

Other Soviet developments, Pentagon sources said, included two test orbits this year of a possible two-man space plane, development of a shuttle, and the appearance of a giant rocket that could lift 300,000 pounds or more into a low orbit.

In recently published testimony before the House Appropriations subcommittee on defense, Richard S. Cooper, director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, said the Russians could put a laser on board a "300,000 or 400,000-pound object."

But, he added, "our military forces would not be particularly threatened by a laser in space" of the kind that the Russians "could put together today," which are considered primitive.

The Fletcher commission proposed that U.S. scientists undertake research to determine how to defend missile systems from possible laser attack, one source said, and then work to develop a laser system that could be used to attack similarly hardened Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles or their warheads.

Proponents of the current U.S. laser program were critical last week of the Fletcher report. One described it as "a call for study, study, study rather than action."

## China's One-Child Policy Not Successful, Aide Says

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — China's family planning chief has said that many Chinese families were still having more than one child despite a government policy discouraging this.

"There are certain districts where family planning programs are very well accepted," said Qian Qunzhong, the minister in charge of the State Family Planning Commission. "But also there are districts where family planning is not very successful."

Mr. Qian, speaking to the Population Council, a private international scientific group, in New York last week, said that 3.8 million babies were born in China in 1981 to families that already had at least two children.

China's birth rate rose from 20.9 births per 1,000 people in 1981 to 21.1 births in 1982, a shift from a formerly declining rate, he said.

On Sept. 30, Mr. Qian received the 1983 United Nations Population Award, which is given for "the most outstanding contribution to the awareness of population questions." He shared the award with

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India.

China has been criticized for punishing couples who have two or more children and fining women expecting a second child 20 percent of their pay if they refuse an abortion.

"Giving birth to children is not just a family affair," Mr. Qian said. Mr. Qian's receipt of the UN award prompted criticism from an adviser to the UN Fund for Population Activities, the agency that presented it.

In a letter to the agency's executive director, Theodore W. Schultz, a Chicago economist, wrote: "The harm was done by awarding the prize to a public official in China where public policy is responsible for the appallingly high rate of female infanticide." He also criticized the award to Mrs. Gandhi "despite her cruel mandated sterilization."

During Mrs. Gandhi's administration in the 1970s, millions of vasectomies were performed under a forced sterilization program.

## Heinrich Böll Uses Pen Against Plan for Missiles

By James M. Markham  
New York Times Service

GROSSHAU, West Germany — Heinrich Böll, the only German postwar winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, has an engaging way of pulling out a thought or an assertion, with a slow drag on a cigarette, and then appending to it the disarming German phrase *oder nicht?* The phrase, literally "or not?" is a shorthand way of saying, "What do you think?" or even, "Maybe I'm wrong."

"Many writers are radical," he said. "I am not, because of my age and because of my terrible fear of demagoguery. I have lived this on the street in the Nazi time. It is a trauma."

Mr. Böll, 66, who won his Nobel prize in 1972, is a twister of bonapartes, an enemy of tyrannies large and small, an anti-militarist and a doer. Now he has turned his doubts, and his prestige, to issues of peace and nuclear war.

In September he and his wife, Annemarie, decided to join the peaceful blockade of a U.S. military base at Mutlangen, where Pershing-2 missiles are to be deployed in three months if U.S. and Soviet negotiators in Geneva do not come to a compromise first. Why did the Bölls go to Mutlangen?

"Because we are sure," Mr. Böll said, "that the Pershing-2s will strengthen our safety. They will weaken it. Even if the Soviets destroyed all of their SS-20s they still will have the possibility to kill us 60 times — I have just read from the Austrian chief of the army — and we, the West, are supposed to kill them, if it comes to it, 40 times. So any new rocket is an absurdity."

As the subject was war and peace, Mr. Böll paused to recall to a visitor that the Spartan house where he works in this small village near the Belgian frontier is set in the Elzgerwald, where 17 U.S. and British GIs were slain in September 1944. In 1948, Corporal Böll, three wounded, was captured by the Americans.

Mr. Böll said: "The war is not planned. I don't believe that any responsible person plans it. But it's thought as possible."

Such a war, he said, would make both Germany a battlefield. Three days before the Mutlangen demonstration Mr. Böll was bushwhacked, as he sees it, by an open letter to him from Colonel Heinz Kluss, an army officer, prominently published in the conservative daily Frankfurter Allgemeine. The colonel suggested that the blockade would torment soldiers inside the base and accused



Heinrich Böll

Mr. Böll of "endangering peace and freedom."

Displeased that the newspaper had printed the letter before he had seen it, Mr. Böll answered the officer in the newspaper's pages on Sept. 7.

"No, my very honored colonel, I am not demonstrating against the American Army, which freed me and my family from German terror," he wrote. "I am demonstrating against the American policy of the present American government, insofar as they concern us, and they concern us very much."

He continued: "I have found nothing in your letter on the matter itself, on the reason for the blockade, on the missiles, and I have found only a little on disobedience, obedience. Ask yourself and your soldiers just once what the particularly obedient Germans Eichmann, Barbie, Klaus have done and, by contrast, what beneficence was bestowed by the few disobedient Germans, and not just the men and women of the resistance."

The novelist insists there is no parallel between resistance in the Nazis and resistance to the West German government today.

"When Germans have resistance," they think of July 20," he said, referring to the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Hitler in 1944. "But we must learn, and especially we Germans, that resistance is not only possible and allowed in relationships. There is resistance that runs some pattern every day."

Mr. Böll said that, in contrast with the Weimar Republic, West German writers and intellectuals "fully accept this state and its unique constitution." Heinrich Weimer, which crumbled after Hitler's takeover, was weakened from the start by the monarchist loyalties of the military and political establishment.

"But we see that we really are a republic," he added. "Our state"

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Encumbered Build-Down

The Reagan administration has finally negotiated a strategic arms deal — but only with key members of Congress, not with the Russians. The flexible-sounding proposal for a "build-down" — trading safer new warheads for unsafe older ones — is a nod to some American legislators to win their support for missile budgets. But it has been grafted to a familiar demand that Moscow restructure its missile force much more than Washington.

Even if not this encumbered, the build-down would require years of negotiation and a decade or two to accomplish. The best way to get there is still through a compromise on pending proposals for sizable cutbacks.

The appeal of the build-down is that it would reward the superpowers for shifting to less threatening missiles while they modernize. For example, deploying a desirable, mobile single-warhead missile might be allowed for dismantling only one old warhead. But building an undesirable, immobile multi-warhead missile might require dismantling two old warheads for every new one. President Reagan's new proposals adopt this idea, contributing significantly to the arms discussion.

But Mr. Reagan's proposals demand a simultaneous build-down in "destructive capacity," or missile throw-weight, which is just another way of again demanding sharp cuts in Soviet land missiles. It is unrealistic — even in return for the cuts in American bomber payloads that may now be offered.

The most valid concern of the Reagan administration arises from the asymmetry in Soviet and American strategic forces. They are roughly equal in total destructive power, but much of America's force is in relatively unthreatening, second-strike, sea-based submarines and bombers, while most Soviet power is in multi-warhead land missiles that pose a theoretical "first-strike" threat.

What is worrisome in this imbalance, however, is not the size, the throw-weight or the accuracy of Soviet missiles, as the Reagan administration contends. The danger lies in multi-warhead missiles facing immobile missiles, producing a theoretical "exchange ratio"

advantage for a pre-emptive first strike — an attacker's calculation that he could spend one missile with 10 warheads to destroy five enemy missiles with 50 warheads.

Abandon multi-warhead weapons and a first strike becomes unthinkable. It would take at least two single-warhead missiles to destroy one enemy warhead, and an even greater ratio to take out mobile weapons. Stable deterrence in the longer run requires a gradual shift to single-warhead missiles. But to keep focusing on throw-weight is to keep asking the Russians to scrap half of their land forces. They will not do that any time soon, and stability has to be improved initially in other ways.

The obsession with throw-weight also gets in the way of two promising arms control concepts. One is the Sowercroft commission's endorsement of shifting to single-warhead missiles. The other is the build-down idea advanced by Senator William Cohen, Representative Albert Gore and four colleagues. Both groups agreed to support the MX missile in return for acceptance of their ideas. But the administration accepts those ideas more in principle than in deed. It is pushing for a 10-warhead MX in vulnerable silos, not for a mobile one-warhead Midgetman.

The build-down idea, in any case, cannot be attained in less than 10 years. It is the most complicated arms control idea ever.

In the meantime there is no reason for not seizing on the pending offers of reductions. The Russians have proposed cutting the missile and bomber ceiling of 2,250 in the unratified SALT-2 treaty down to 1,800; the United States has proposed about 1,600. That is a negotiable difference. By converting those numbers into warhead equivalents, Mr. Reagan might be able to achieve much of the cutback he initially proposed, from about 7,500 to 5,000 missile warheads on each side.

Something along these lines is said to have been urged by the State Department in recent days. Such a reduction would set the stage for build-down and represent a valuable achievement in its own right.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## The Lebanese Question

The question of Lebanon is whether there is a Lebanon, a real nation underneath the torment and the fractures, or whether the original Lebanese idea of a community of communities is simply a historical anomaly or colonial artifice whose time has come and gone.

There is an element of unfairness in calling upon Lebanon to address that question. The question is in many ways offensive; other countries, hardly less ethnically splintered and embattled, are not often called upon to address it. The political circumstances, however, make it unavoidable. For the very suggestion, which is more than a suggestion, that Lebanon is not a real nation, that its plainly existing hatreds and divisions are its ultimate reality, is feeding a go-with-the-flow movement to "ratify" this reality in the form of either a partition into Syrian and Israeli buffer spheres of influence, or establishment of "cantons" to house the separate communities.

In a sense, the United States is already a party to this hidden concept. The American political system was convulsed by the first casualties among U.S. Marines in the peacekeeping force. There is scant evidence that for much further expenditure of American resources in behalf of the longtime formal goal of Lebanese integrity. In Lebanon the suspi-

cion lingers that Washington bought the Gezael government some part of the recent cease-fire by winking at Syria's Lebanese interests and clients. Add the interest of many American diplomats in weaning Syria from Soviet patronage to the traditional American favor for Israel and you will understand much about the anxieties of the Lebanese.

We think it is wrong to yield lightly to the "reality" of no Lebanon. To do so would mean backing off from a decades-long commitment to its integrity — a lapse that would rebound throughout the area, and not only there. There is no denying the immense contribution that Lebanese have made to their own despair. But there is also no denying — here the "realists" come up short — the immense contribution made by intruding foreigners: most grievously the Palestinians, but also in their respective measures the Israelis, the Syrians and others.

The current thrust of U.S. policy is to walk the Lebanese toward internal political reform, and in that way to firm up the sense of nationhood and the authority of the central government and convince Syrians and Israelis that their interests can best be served if their troops move back behind their own borders. It is a risky uphill policy, but it deserves a fair trial.

— THE WASHINGTON POST

## Democrats on Broadway

The 1984 presidential campaign, it might be said, opened on Broadway Thursday night when six present or former U.S. senators and a former governor of Florida joined at Town Hall in an atmosphere more of celebration than of competition. The campaign began months, years ago — back in January 1982, say, when a Democratic rules commission met in Washington and supporters of Walter Mondale and Edward Kennedy worked the smoke-filled room with skill. As the months passed there have been caucuses and cattle shows and endorsements. But in a real sense that has all been preview, all New Haven. On Thursday the seven announced Democratic candidates joined together for the first time.

Senator John Glenn bristled when a questioner compared his feat in space to jumping a river canyon on a motorcycle. Senators Alan Cranston and Ernest Hollings sparred about what it meant to vote for a Reagan tax bill. Renkin Askew, President Carter's trade negotiator, challenged Mr. Mondale to tell why he favors inhibiting free trade. But that was about the extent of the disagreement. Who is most for the War Powers Resolution or reliable

arms control or peace? Who would do the most for human rights or against the "feminization of poverty"? They all would.

Still, the position of each and all was demonstrably different from that of a president with decidedly harsher views of cities and the poor. The early focus on New York is not just an exercise in provincial longing for the glory days when New York was the biggest state and to be its governor was to be America's crown prince. Its opening on Broadway fastens the candidates' attention on urban needs and values — which, as Senator Gary Hart pointed out, are so well illustrated in New York.

New Yorkers can be more liberal, knowing intimately about the needs of the urban poor and about the pothole duties that America imposes on its big cities. They can also be more conservative, knowing intimately about fiscal crisis and about crime. And sometimes their interests are simply special. As Governor Mario Cuomo observed of the seven candidates, "I'm sure they were surprised to hear the question about a special envoy to Ireland raised at every forum."

— THE NEW YORK TIMES

## FROM OUR OCT. 10 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1908: Grief at the Polo Grounds

NEW YORK — The mortality of clerks' and office boys' relatives is alarming. It is estimated that two thousand grandmothers had died. Wall Street, in a body, was at the funeral at the polo grounds. From a Wall Street point of view, war clouds and politics are trivial matters until the pennant is decided. The few brokers left on the job brought in their luncheon, as there was no one to keep their offices. Hundreds of special parties from Wall Street went to see the final game and millions had to stand in line with tickets. By defeating New York by 4-2, Chicago against the National League baseball championship. The biggest funeral procession that the world ever saw filed out of the Polo Grounds.

### 1933: The Newark Stock Exchange?

NEW YORK — The NRA, whose progress has been discussed almost to the exclusion of other matters in the financial community since late summer, faded perceptibly into the background of public interest recently, states an article by Edward H. Collins, Associate Financial Editor of the New York Herald Tribune. This was because of other substantial events, among them a fresh flood of contradictory and confusing dispatches from Washington concerning the prospects of currency inflation, the most serious break in the bond market in many months, and, finally, the amazing revelation that the Stock Exchange really was very much in earnest in its plan to move, bag and baggage, from Wall Street to Newark.

## Under an Anti-Intellectual Presidency

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The Reagan administration is the first American presidency since Franklin Roosevelt's to have come to power as the expression of a set of ideas — of a new intellectual movement in America. The Kennedy campaign in 1960 had plenty of intellectuals in it, who took over Washington when John Kennedy was the president, but it cannot really be said that they represented something new. They stood firmly in that line of liberal thought and practice that began in domestic policy with Roosevelt's New Deal and in international policy with Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points.

The Reagan case is strange. He and the people closest to him are anything but intellectuals, and his government is proving in office to be the most anti-intellectual in a generation. Yet he was the candidate of the wisest and the best thinkers known as the neo-conservatives, who represent a revisionist reaction to years of liberal domination of government, universities and the press.

They stand for a revised economics, monetarism and key to the free market, and for heavy reliance on private initiative in social and economic matters. They are, most of them, relatively uncritical admirers of capitalism in its American form. In foreign policy they are ferociously anti-communist — with the same intransigence that most of them devoted to Trotskyism or socialism at the beginning of their careers.

Yet when Ronald Reagan won the presidential election in 1980 it was not Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, James Decter, Robert Nisbet, Seymour Lipset, John Q. Wilson or George Will who moved into the offices which 20 years earlier had been occupied by Harvard and MIT intellectuals. Mr. Reagan invited the neo-conservative editors, professors and writers to dinner, but, with the exception of Jeanne Kirkpatrick of

Georgetown University, who is now ambassador to the United Nations, he did not give them responsibilities for U.S. policy.

The people to whom he did award power were nearly all from business circles, the military, even from entertainment, few of them with any intellectual pretensions. Secretary of State George Schultz is the closest the Reagan administration has to a professional thinker, but he was formed as a university economist and has not proved very effective in controlling a presidential foreign policy that more and more has become a matter of ineffectual shows of force in situations (Lebanon, Central America) manifestly ill-suited to the kind of thing that can eventually undermine a nation's authority, and which invites miscalculation.

The administration distrusts the universities and all but the most conservative research institutions. International exchanges involving Russians are considered dangerous, tainted by détente. Federal funds have been reduced or cut out for scholarly enterprises of the sort which in the past have routinely included Russians. Such non-governmental groups as the National Academy of Sciences have picked up sponsorship of some of these exchanges, but the official policy community in Washington is being cut off from international dialogue and exchange, and even from the university circles where this takes place.

That is bad for the Russians, who in the past have learned serious things from such exchanges, and for the United States as well. It reinforces the tendency among Americans, intellectuals and government officials assuredly included, to disregard foreign realities and take the United

States as the norm — refusing "any other position but No. 1," as helicopter Dennis Conner put it minutes after the Australians had proved that in 12-meter racing, at least, the United States is certainly in position No. 2.

Academic intellectuals in government are no unmitigated blessing, and it could aptly be argued — most appropriately by a neo-conservative intellectual — that a president of the United States does better to rely on practical men and women of affairs, professional managers and career diplomats. This, though, is not what the Reagan administration has done.

In too many areas Mr. Reagan has handed power to cronies and amateurs, and these amateurs are enforcing amateur standards upon the career professionals in government. This inevitably does damage to government's functioning, but also to America's reputation abroad as a competent and serious nation.

These people also are cutting off the government from the larger intellectual community in the United States — from the universities and those independent research institutions which since World War II have cooperated with government and helped to make it work.

One would think that this does Mr. Reagan no good, since any president needs all the help he can get, even from intellectuals, neo-conservative or not. But does he understand that this is so? The problem is that ignorance has been institutionalized. H.L. Mencksen said of America in 1920, "One may bowl over the show without any unseemly reminders that it is serious, and that someone may be hurt." That, of course, is today just what we can no longer do.

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## To Achieve Arms Control You Have to Want It

By Tom Wicker

WASHINGTON — When Aver-

ell Harriman arrived in Moscow in the summer of 1963, a reporter asked how long it would take him and his team to negotiate a ban on nuclear tests in the atmosphere. Thinking fast, Mr. Harriman decided to send a signal to the Kremlin. "About two weeks," he answered. "If Premier Khrushchev wants a treaty as badly as President Kennedy does."

Just 13 days later, as Mr. Harriman recalled to an audience gathered last week to honor him and the 20th anniversary of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, the work of the Soviet-American negotiators was done.

That was possible, he said, because both sides wanted a treaty. And he added that his only regret, two decades after that first arms control success, was that "we didn't go after" a comprehensive treaty that would have banned nuclear tests underground as well as in the atmosphere, the oceans and space.

Had such a treaty been concluded then, Mr. Harriman observed, many nuclear weapons systems that now threaten the world could never have come into existence.

Jerome Wiesner, who was President Kennedy's science adviser, also suggested that the moment might have been lost in 1963. Speaking earlier at the dinner sponsored by the Arms Control Association, he said Mr. Kennedy had been greatly encouraged by a tour of Western states 20 years ago this autumn, during which the crowd had roared approval of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which ultimately was not ratified.

Mr. Wiesner said Mr. Kennedy told him that if he had realized how much public support there was, he might have been more willing to insist on a comprehensive test ban.

The issue arose again during the Carter administration when the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union virtually completed a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) treaty in which, for the first time, Moscow agreed to on-site inspections as part of the necessary verification procedures. Paul Warnke, then the U.S. negotiator, told the audience that he now wondered whether higher priority should not have been given to the CTB rather than to SALT-2, which ultimately was not ratified.

Mr. Wiesner and Mr. Warnke agreed that in the Kennedy administration, as later under President Carter, opposition within the U.S. government — in the Pentagon, in Congress, at the national nuclear laboratories — as well as in the "military-industrial complex" and the press had been a bigger obstacle than the Soviet Union to agreement on a comprehensive test ban.

We don't have such a treaty, Mr. Warnke said, "because we don't want it." Instead, internal pressures to continue testing for new nuclear weapons systems and to improve old ones have been too strong.

Another former Carter administration official suggested in a private conversation that, owing to internal U.S. government opposition to a comprehensive treaty, the better course might have been to concentrate on treaty language all test except those of relatively low yield. That way, he said, Moscow might at

least have been "locked in" to the concessions — such as on-site inspections — that it had been willing to make in the CTB negotiations. Mr. George Bundy, President Kennedy's national security adviser, recalled for the dinner audience the sequence of events leading to the 1963 Test Ban Treaty.

In late 1961 the Soviet Union conducted a series of atmospheric tests, breaking a moratorium that had been observed by both sides. The United States responded with a test series of its own, and in the summer of 1962 Moscow embarked on still another round of testing.

But this time, Mr. Bundy said, Mr.

Kennedy took the initiative to break the cycle, deciding, in effect, "OK, you have two series and I have one. And it doesn't matter." Ultimately, in his American University speech of 1963, Mr. Kennedy pledged again that the United States would not test in the atmosphere if one side did. Three weeks later Mr. Khrushchev replied favorably, and Averell Harriman was sent to Moscow.

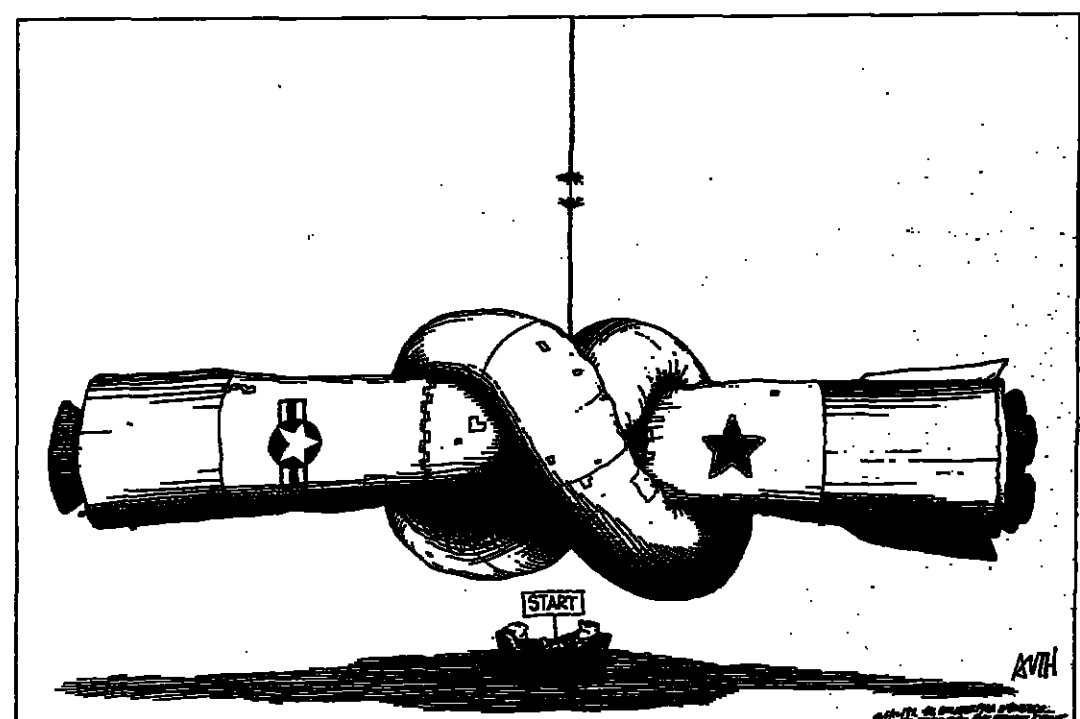
The resulting treaty, Mr. Bundy said, "was the most constructive event I was ever associated with." But he warned that it would be harder now to achieve a comprehensive treaty because, ironically, the public's fear of nuclear fallout from atmo-

spheric tests — "the most compelling single force" behind the 1963 treaty — had been eliminated by that treaty. Moreover, Mr. Bundy pointed out, the "range of armaments" on both sides is far more complex now.

For these reasons and due to continuing opposition within the U.S. government, Mr. Bundy said, no major arms control agreement could be achieved without "the authority of the president's voice" forcefully taking the lead in seeking it.

As for Mr. Harriman, he saw a clear lesson in the experience of 1963 and of a U.S.-Soviet treaty successfully observed for 20 years. "There's no reason," he said, "to be afraid to make agreements to limit arms."

The New York Times



## The Geneva Talks Look Foredoomed

By Don Cook

GENEVA — As the countdown continues for deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe, the nuclear arms negotiations in Geneva are taking on the atmosphere of a diplomatic wake.

Yuri Andropov, with his denunciation of President Reagan and the latest American move to open new doors in Geneva, has ruthlessly quashed even the faintest flicker of hope for a last-minute breakthrough.

Moreover, through various channels Moscow Union has warned Washington that it can expect a complete rupture of both the Intermediate Nuclear Force talks and the parallel Strategic Arms Reduction Talks once the NATO deployment of new missiles gets under way this December in West Germany and Britain.

So the current round of nuclear negotiations is likely to be the last one for many months. The hiatus is likely to be a long one.

A breakdown in Geneva may be something the Reagan administration feels it can live with, but it is not

going to be that easy for the European countries where the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are to be deployed — West Germany in particular, along with Britain and Italy, and then Belgium and Holland, where cruise missiles are not scheduled to be deployed until 1985 but where the political opposition is strongest.

It is not so much a "hot autumn" of anti-nuclear demonstrations that worries the NATO governments as the prospect of a "hot spring," with the nuclear buildup going on and no talks in progress in Geneva that might offer at least a semblance of hope that somehow another spiral of nuclear weaponry can be contained.

The prospect is equally evident to the Soviet Union, and it is likely to harden the Soviet leadership in its determination to negotiate nothing in Geneva but instead to break off the talks and to sit back and wait for the politics of 1984 to unfold in the

United States and Western Europe.

If the talks are broken off, it will not be hard to make clear to the people of Europe where the responsibility lies. The difficulty will come if the NATO governments have to go through 1984 with no progress in the effort to reduce nuclear arms.

"The simple truth," a senior American official said recently, "is that there has never been any negotiation at all here on the intermediate-range missiles in the last two years."

"If you go all the way back to 1979, when NATO took the decision [to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles], it was laid down in Moscow that the aim of Soviet policy would be to block the weapons from arriving in Europe at all," said the official, who declined to be identified.

The hope had been that this basic Soviet position would give way to reality as deployment day approached. But it has not. There will be a lot of pieces to be picked up and put back together again in 1984.

Los Angeles Times

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

### Italy and the Lebanese Mission

Regarding "Sept. Worries About Lebanon Role" (ITTT, Sept. 26) by John Vincour:

A poll carried out last month by the independent Macno institute and widely publicized in the Italian press on Sept. 25 found that 58.2 percent of Italians desired the immediate withdrawal of their national contingent from Lebanon, and that a further 26.6 percent were ready to accept its continued presence in Beirut exclusively on the condition that it should in no way become involved in war activities and that its function should continue to be strictly limited to the protection of the civilian population, in particular the Palestinian camp population, in West Beirut. If this is "no bringing-the-boys-home ground swell," what is?

Likewise, it is completely false that "the only opposition to an Italian military role in Lebanon has come from the Communists and far-left splinter groups," or that "parliamentary debates have reflected pride in so exceptional an assignment." In the first place, leftist parties reflect more than one-third of the national vote — not exactly a marginal proportion. Secondly, the movement calling for the withdrawal of the Italian contingent

from Lebanon was launched and continues to be animated by the very military assigned to Lebanon, and their families, who by no stretch of the imagination can be classified as being only leftists.

The latter have addressed to President Sandro Pertini a petition in which the withdrawal request is motivated by the fear — anything but irrational — that the humanitarian peace mission originally assigned to the contingent might be transformed, due to the renewed outbreak of the hostilities, into one involving war activities.

Thirdly, had Mr. Vincour made the slightest effort to consult the parliamentary record, he would easily have found out:

■ That similar concern has been expressed in parliamentary debates by a broad spectrum of senators and deputies, including members of major government parties such as the Christian Democrats and the Socialists and excluding only the extreme right-wingers and notoriously fanatic supporters of U.S. power politics;

■ That any expressions of "pride" that has been voiced in the debates related indeed to the fact that, differently from the U.S. and French troops in Lebanon, the Italian contingent has so far not been assigned a military role but has on the contrary maintained its civilian protection function,

mainly around the Palestinian camps, carrying it out to the best of its ability (although within the very lamentable limits imposed upon it by the political agreements), for example in regard to the prevention of kidnappings and arbitrary arrests of civilians by the official and unofficial Phalangist squads of the Gemayel regime;

■ That in marked contrast with Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini — whose Republican Party represents 5.1 percent of the Italian vote and whose main concern is to prevent any dissociation of the Italian position from that of the U.S. administration — both Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, a Socialist, and Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, a Christian Democrat, have pledged that no change would be operated in the role so far assigned to the Italian contingent in Lebanon, in a war-involvement sense, unless such change should be decided by Parliament, which is more than doubtful.

A large majority of Italian public opinion continues to seek withdrawal of the contingent from Lebanon and replacement of the multinational force now stationed in that country by a United Nations-controlled peacekeeping force.

SENATOR ENZO ENRIQUES AGNOLETTI  
Rome.

## Numbers That Guide Democrats

By Barry Sussman

WASHINGTON — For months opinion polls have projected John Glenn as a stronger candidate than Walter Mondale or any other Democrat against Ronald Reagan in 1984. The reason most often cited is Senator Glenn's appeal to independent voters, the largest swing group in any presidential election.

"Go with the candidate who can win" has been the main theme of Glenn supporters. Is that message correct? Are the polls really saying there are many who would support Mr. Glenn but not Mr. Mondale?

The simple answer is yes, but equally important is that there are many who say they would support Mr. Mondale but not Mr. Glenn. There is little difference between the percentage of Mondale-yes, Glenn-no voters and the reverse group.

A Gallup survey, issued in September, showed Mr. Mondale ahead by 49 to 30 percent among Democrats, with 21 percent undecided. That is still a substantial lead for Mr. Mondale, but it is down eight points from the Gallup Poll in June, when 57 percent of Democrats interviewed were for Mr. Mondale, 31 percent for Mr. Glenn and 12 percent undecided.

The effect of Mr. Glenn's "He can win" strategy seems to be to make people think twice about Mr. Mondale. Voters and state party organizations do not seem to be jumping toward Mr. Glenn but are moving from Mr. Mondale to "undecided."

Much of that shift comes from voters who very much want a Democrat, who can win, and are therefore receptive to Mr. Glenn's message. But if those Democrats study the full picture, the Glenn theme could end up as less important than now.

Taking the results of the last three Washington Post-ABC News polls and looking at them as one — in order to have larger, more reliable numbers to work with — the electorate in a mock campaign looks like this, omitting the undecided:

■ 42 percent of the voters support Ronald Reagan against Mr. Mondale or Mr. Glenn; 44 percent support either Democrat against Mr. Reagan.

■ Slightly over 8 percent support Mr. Glenn over Mr. Reagan, but Mr. Mondale over 6 percent support Mr. Mondale over Mr. Reagan, but Mr. Mondale over Mr. Glenn.

■ So there is a 2-point difference between the numbers of those voters who like Mr. Glenn but not Mr. Mondale and vice versa.

If the difference between the pro-Mondale, anti-Glenn vote and the reverse is so small, why have Glenn supporters been able to make so much effective use of the numbers?

For millions of Americans, President Reagan, by his commanding presence and his ability to get his way with Congress, has dispelled the myth that "it doesn't matter who is elected, nothing ever changes." Things have changed, substantially.

Correct or not, the slogan "He can win" has a lot of appeal to people who care more about the outcome than they did four or eight years ago. The Glenn camp has played on that appeal for all it is worth.

But there is a second reason. The arithmetic in the three Post-ABC News polls lends some credence to Mr. Glenn's slogan. The 2-percent advantage does mean the difference between winning and not winning, or more accurately, between being and not being ahead at this stage.

In the Reagan-Mondale trial heats, the president gets his 42 percent plus the 8 percent who say they would vote for Glenn but not Mondale. That makes the outcome 50 percent for Reagan, 50 percent for Mondale.

In the Reagan-Glenn trial heat, Mr. Reagan gets 42 percent plus the 6 percent who say they would vote for Mondale but not Glenn. The outcome is Reagan 48 percent, Glenn 52.

People often ask what effect polls have on elections. The answer from most pollsters has been that polls have no discernible effect. If Mr. Glenn is successful, however, the polls will have had a major impact for 1984, for they will have sustained him at just the point when he might have fallen into the pack with the rest of the Democratic hopefuls.

Early this year, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Glenn both held commanding leads over Mr. Reagan, but Mr. Glenn was not far ahead of the four other Democrats who were then seeking the nomination. But starting in March, as most citizens began to perceive that America was in a period of economic recovery, Mr. Reagan became stronger in the polls and the stage of equilibrium — for Mr. Glenn — was reached. It was Mr. Reagan's improvement that enabled Mr. Glenn to burst away from the pack.

In the same sense, poll results in the next few months could be crucial. Many Democratic organizations are doing what many of the rank and file have been doing: switching from Mr. Mondale to undecided.

In Massachusetts, Governor Michael Dukakis was expected to endorse Mr. Mondale months ago, but any Dukakis endorsement is not in shyness. The same is true of Governor Mario Cuomo and Democratic organizations in New York and in other states. Democratic leaders are waiting to see what the polls say.

The stronger Mr. Reagan gets, the better for Mr. Mondale, since if he and Mr. Glenn fell substantially behind, the "He can win" slogan would be of little help. Mr. Mondale would also profit if he and Mr. Glenn re-established strong leads in trial heats against the president.

But if the polls continue to postulate a race that is really too close to call, the 2-percent edge could prevail for Mr. Glenn. Three of the last six presidential elections were decided by less than 2 percent of the vote. And these days, perhaps more than in 1980, the Democrats look as if they will want their candidate to win.

The Washington Post

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MONDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1983

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## EUROBONDS

By CARL GEWIRTZ

### M-1 Rise Disappoints Market's Hope For a Realignment of Bond Prices

PARIS — A \$600-million increase in the U.S. money supply reported late Friday by the Federal Reserve while not especially large was disappointing for bond markets convinced that the latest figures would show a decline of at least that size.

This is especially bad news for the Eurobond market, where interest rates have declined much further than those in New York. Thus, either bond prices in New York need to rise, justifying the Eurobonds, or Eurobond prices have to fall to come into line with conditions in New York.

The best example of this is the World Bank's latest offering of \$300 million of seven-year notes. Priced at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent, the notes ended the week quoted at a discount of 1 1/4 percent.

At a discount of 1 1/4, the World Bank paper yielded five basis points less than comparable U.S. Treasury notes in New York. Normally, bankers say, World Bank paper would be expected to yield about 50 basis points (half a percentage point) over Treasury.

"The World Bank issue was aggressively priced, but the paper is selling," investors are saying, a U.K. banker said. But, he warned, "there is a psychological risk. If New York fails to move ahead there could be an enormous correction" in Eurobond prices.

Australia also tapped the seven-year market with an offering of \$100 million priced at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. But Australia is an infrequent borrower — its last Eurodollar bond was in 1978 (it raised \$400 million in New York last year, part of which came from abroad). As a result, its notes ended the week at a thin 1/4-point discount.

At the same time, Australia sold \$300 million of 12-year bonds, at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent, and \$100 million of 15-year bonds, priced at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent.

The 12-year paper, reflecting the larger amount, ended the week quoted at a discount of 1 1/4 points while the 15-year bonds were quoted less 1 1/2 percent.

**Canadian Offering Awaited**  
Still awaited is a \$500-million offering from Canada. Rumors Friday said the government was holding back waiting until it could issue paper at less than 11 percent, possibly 4 1/2-year notes bearing a coupon of 10 percent.

Gazette of the Netherlands, another highly regarded and infrequent borrower, sold \$75 million of seven-year notes bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. Priced at 99 1/4, the notes ended the week at a slim discount of 3/4 percent.

Farm Credit Corp., a Canadian crown agency, sold \$75 million of 10-year bonds at a discount of 99 1/4, bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. This issue ended the week quoted at less 1/4 percent.

Rio Tinto-Zinc, trying to better Britain's 11 1/4 of 1990 (which ended the week at 100 1/4) offered \$100 million (out from an intended \$150 million) of 10-year bonds at par bearing a coupon of 11 1/4 percent. The RTZ bonds ended the week at a steep discount of 97 1/2-98.

Dresdner Bank, taking advantage of the market's appetite both for floating rate paper and equity-linked paper, issued \$400 million of floating rate notes. Interest on the 10-year notes is set at a quarter-point over the average of the six-month bid-offered interbank rate.

Attached to each \$100,000 note are warrants to buy 25 Dresdner shares at a price of 172 Deutsche marks each, the price then prevailing on the Frankfurt exchange. However, the notes themselves were sold for \$10,500. The \$300 price over the face value of the notes was the cost Dresdner put on the value of the warrants.

Thus, the warrant for each share was valued at \$20, equal to about 52 cents (Continued on Page 9, Col. 1)

World Bank's latest offering of \$300

Eurobond Yields	
For Week Ended Oct. 5	For Week Ended Oct. 5
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.20 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %
10 1/4% 10 term U.S.	12.45 %

Market Turnover

For Week Ended Oct. 7	For Week Ended Oct. 7
(Millions of U.S. Dollars)	(Millions of U.S. Dollars)
Credit	8,136.40
Debit	14,297.10



Food vendors in Kinshasa before devaluation of currency. Under austerity measures announced by President Mobutu Sese Seko, top right, the price of staples has risen sharply.



## Zaire Devaluation Raises Potential for Unrest

By Michael T. Kaufman

KINSHASA, Zaire — Three weeks ago Zaire devalued its currency overnight by 80 percent. Last Thursday, armed plainclothesmen attached to the office of President Mobutu Sese Seko swept through this capital city at dawn to search every hotel room for weapons.

The two events were closely linked. As the social costs of the monetary overhaul start to bite, as prices of staples rise and as an elite of black marketeers faces shrunken payoffs, the potential for civil unrest and political turbulence is also rising.

"The situation is very tense," said a Western ambassador with 20 years' experience in Africa. "This is the greatest challenge to Mobutu's 18-year rule since the French, the Mo-

roccans, the Belgians and the Americans helped him repel the invasion of Shaba five years ago" by rebels based in Angola.

The challenge comes from stringent conditions laid down by the International Monetary Fund in return for an allotment of \$350 million over the next 15 months, conditions that Mr. Mobutu had to accept as Zaire's stock of foreign currency nearly vanished. He is counting on intensified vigilance and passionate exhortation to get him through the crisis.

"This will be a year of rigors," the president said as he spelled out the devaluation and the related austerity measures demanded by the IMF. "It is a bitter pill which we have no alternative but to swallow."

He was addressing a meeting last week of the central committee of his Popular Revolutionary Movement, the country's only party, which is openly ridiculed here as neither popular nor revolutionary and showing little movement.

The president appealed for "revolutionary discipline" and "civil pride" in the face of economic hardships. And he called on the nation to search out agitators who he said sought to undermine the single-party system.

In this politically aware and very cynical capital, where real news most often travels on the "sidewalk telegraph," the identity of the unnamed agitators was immediately apparent. They were widely understood to be the supporters of 13 former members of the National Legislative Council, or parliament, who have been urging democratic reforms ever since their release from jail in May.

The 13 were purged from the parliament in November 1980 when they wrote an open letter (Continued on Page 13, Col. 5)

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The 13 were purged from the parliament in November 1980 when they wrote an open letter (Continued on Page 13, Col. 5)

## M-1 News Seen as No Cause for Rate Concern

By Yla Eason

NEW YORK — The news of a relatively small increase in the narrow money supply prompted a minimal reaction in American credit markets as prices maintained the downward momentum established before the figure was released. Interest rates rose modestly.

According to the Federal Reserve System report made late Friday, the measure, known as M-1, rose by \$600 million for the week ended Sept. 28.

Many analysts had predicted that the measure would be anywhere from unchanged to down by \$500 million. But they said they did not expect the slight increase to put upward pressure on rates because the aggregate is still about \$3 billion below the Fed's target range.

The Fed has set an annual money growth rate of 5 percent to 9 percent, which measures currency and checks in public hands and checking and similar accounts in banks that are considered readily available for spending.

Trading was light throughout Friday, dominated by professional buyers whose profit taking marginally depressed prices. Traders noted that dealers squared books in advance of the Columbus Day holiday on Monday, when U.S. government security trading will be suspended. Banks will also be closed.

After the money supply figures were released, prices, which were already down about one-third of a point, dropped another one-third to one-quarter of a point, and yields rose by about 0.2 percent.

The focus of many market participants quickly shifted to the minutes of the Aug. 23 meeting of the Federal Open Market Committee, also released Friday. The committee is the policy-setting arm of the Federal Reserve System and its minutes, which are released about six weeks after each meeting, are scrutinized for clues about the course set by the Fed.

After analyzing the August minutes, some analysts concluded that the Fed eased policy modestly during September.

### U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

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### U.S. Consumer Rates

For Week Ended Oct. 7	For Week Ended Oct. 7
Passbook Savings	5.50 %
6-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
12-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
18-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
24-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
30-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
36-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
42-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
48-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
54-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %
60-Month Savings Certificate	5.50 %

## Reduced Rates for Brazil Mean Little, Bankers Say

By Carl Gewirtz

PARIS — Bankers agreed to loan reductions in Brazil's new rescheduling charges last week, cutting some \$55 million off commissions and about \$12 million in annual interest charges over the next nine years compared with the fees Brazil paid last year.

The view of members of the 60-bank committee coordinating the syndicated loans is that the reduction in fees is a small concession, but it is a concession.

The decision to participate is simply not rate-sensitive, members of the coordinating committee say. They explain that the reduced fees are aimed at facilitating the Brazilian government's ability to pay domestic support for the austerity measures that were required by the International Monetary Fund.

Privately, bankers acknowledge that the question of fees and margins is superfluous. "They can't afford to pay a margin of 2 1/2, or 2 or 1 point," says a U.S. banker. Europeans agree. "The only so-

lution, if Brazil is to get out of the woods, is for their interest costs to be slashed to somewhere between 3 and 7 percent," says a Continental banker.

The ideal solution, he says, would be for interest rates in general to tumble. That would reduce Libor and the prime rate of U.S. banks, the base rates for syndicated dollar credits that currently stand at 9 1/4 percent and 11 percent respectively.

If that does not happen soon, he continues, Brazil's lenders will have to face up to the fact that it cannot pay either the margin or the base rate and some way will have to be found to subsidize a lower interest charge.

The big banks, say the 50 largest ones, could easily cut their charges without suffering any real loss because their cost to get money to lend is much below the interbank rate or the prime rate. But the hundreds of smaller institutions that have to borrow the funds they lend have little scope for such reductions.

But "sooner or later the reality has to be faced," another European banker says. "We do have a loss situation. The question then is what can we do to minimize the loss."

Meanwhile, in Europe, bankers were joyfully piling into a \$300-million loan for Portugal. By Friday night, 13 banks had agreed to underwrite \$25 million each and a 14th acceptance was expected, raising the possibility that the total could be increased by \$50 million. Banks are eager to be seen supporting Portugal. (Continued on Page 13, Col. 5)

## Recovery Said To Depend on Poorer Nations

By Yla Eason

HOT SPRINGS, Virginia — Economic recovery in the industrialized world will end if business conditions in developing countries do not start to improve, the World Bank president, A.W. Clausen, said Sunday.

"The recovery now under way in the United States and starting elsewhere in the industrialized countries cannot fly for very long unless there is recovery in the Third World," he told reporters after addressing U.S. business leaders.

Mr. Clausen said he urged executives from the biggest U.S. corporations to pressure the Reagan administration to obtain enough funds from Congress to allow multilateral lending agencies to continue their missions.

Mr. Clausen said he was optimistic that the administration would reconsider its self-imposed limit of \$750 million a year for the International Development Association. Administration officials say Congress will not approve more than that as the U.S. share of a proposed \$9-billion, three-year lending package for the IDA.

## U.S. May Urge Higher Japanese Car Quotas

United Press International

TOKYO — The United States has proposed a one-year extension of Japan's voluntary car-export restraint, with the annual quota increased to about 2 million autos from the current 1.68 million units, according to Japanese news reports on Saturday.

A new quota arrangement is expected to be announced during President Ronald Reagan's scheduled visit to Japan next month, the reports said.

Quoting sources in the government and the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, the newspaper Mainichi Shimbun said the proposal was made by American auto industry leaders last month.

"The U.S. auto industry would not mind increasing the quota as car sales in the United States are certain to top 10 million units next year and a 20-percent share of Japanese cars is justifiable," a senior Liberal-Democratic Party official was quoted as saying by the Kyodo News Service.

International Trade and Industry Minister Sosuke Uno hinted last week that Japan would agree to an extension of the car export controls but would seek a higher quota. Japan's automobile exports to the United States have been the focus of trade friction between the two nations. Tokyo has voluntarily limited its car exports to the United States to the 1.68-million level. The three-year restraint is to expire at the end of March.

## Euromarket experts in Luxembourg for private investors...

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## CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for Oct. 7, excluding bank service charges

Currency	Rate	Currency	Rate
Australian dollar	1.4975	Japanese yen	108.00
Belgian franc	36.36	Swiss franc	1.4850
British pound	1.6460	U.S. dollar	1.0000
Canadian dollar	0.7125	West German mark	1.3660
Dutch guilder	2.3360	Yen	108.00
French franc	6.55		
Italian lire	2036.00		
Spanish peseta	166.64		
Swedish krona	4.66		
Swiss franc	1.4850		
U.S. dollar	1.0000		

(a) Commercial bank (b) Amounts needed to buy one pound (£) Units of 100 (c) Units of 1,000

N.B.: Not quoted: N.A.: not available.

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**Dated: October 10, 1983**

**SECRET**

R	SigmaA	AA	3	134	49
	SigmaCp			73	18
	SIL-16-1			148	27%

367	18	17 1/4	17 1/4	- 1/2	SWAIRH	1.20	7.9	35	12 1/4	0
4.9	87	26 1/2	26 1/2	26 1/2	SWETSv	1.08	7.9	18	21 1/2	2
					Spectra			230	6 1/2	

139	8 1/4	8	8	— 1/4	SubA77	206	6.5	117	37%
141	3 1/4	3 1/4	3 1/4	— 1/4	SubBcp	1.76	6.0	131	29% 2
					Subpr 8			425	5%

					T
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100s High Low Close Ch'ge

153	12%	12	12%	+ 1/2	Dynaco	1257	28 1/2	23
5876	24%	22	23%	- 3/4	Dynitch	1072	29 1/2	28
1088	12%	11 1/4	11 1/2	+ 1/4	Dynm	1188	30 1/4	29

186	7 1/2	8 1/2	7 1/2	- 1/4	Ferofu	1757	9	7
2824	16	14 1/2	15 1/2	+ 3/4	FidFidSL	447	13 1/2	12

2.0	1658	14 1/2	12 1/2	14 1/2	+1 1/2	GoHP20	1878	19 1/2	11 1/2
	1267	20 1/4	20 1/4	20 1/2		GoToco	1105	7 1/2	7
						GoHP	48	1 1/2	1 1/2

1.4	1749	23%	22%	22%		MS	int	2164	28%	27
1.3	7212	24	22%	23%	+1%	ISC		2843	15%	14%
						Int		2694	4%	3%

1.3	688	15 1/4	14%	15 1/2 + 1/2	Karch S	2173	41 1/2	38
1.5	1582	16 1/4	15 1/4	16 1/4 + 1/4	Kessler	40r	3.0	627 20
					Kelly In			1024 127 1/2

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38 1/2 - 1 1/2	175 5 1/2	5 1/2	5 1/2 - 1 1/2	Wedgstin	1.48r	16.4	123	94	8 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2
14 + 7 1/2	TimeEng	688 34 1/2	27 1/2	34 1/2 + 1	Wedgch		1509	24	2	2	1 1/2

16	TRAINJ	60M	1.9	66	31%	30%	31%	+ 1%	Windi s	832	3	2%	新成	41	3%
15%	TRAINY	200	5.4	51	35%	34	35%	+1%	Windi un	479	4	2%	新成	41	3%

10	UnComOG	2.7	71	3%	3%	3%	1%
10	UCorBc	92	4.8	98	19%	18%	19%

78%	UnvSec	789	4%	4%	4%	+ 16	2.23	0.77	0.69	0.33
10%	UnvTot	16	9%	9%	9%		3.1	0.78	0.72	0.18
	UnvTot A	93	9%	9%	9%			0.78	0.72	0.18

Symbol	Price	Change	Volume	High	Low	Open	Close
Varian	40	2.9	537,254	20	20 1/2	20 1/2	20 1/2
Vanguard	48	4.8	4,113	11 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2

514-2%	Unst	500	3.0	1823	17	1849	16%	+ 1%	Seagulls	15177	194%	16%	19%	+2
22 + 1/2	LeadDg			6982	21%	17	21	+3 1/2	SecTos	829	7%	6%	6%	- 1/4
	Leachin			517	8%	7%	7%	- 1/2						

Summit	295	11%	9%	10%
SunSky	160	13%	12%	13
Sun	111	11%	10%	11

TimeFib	4729	15%	723	13%	-17%
Library	917	6%	6	6%	

Q40C	2050	11%	9%	9%	13%
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[illegible]

100

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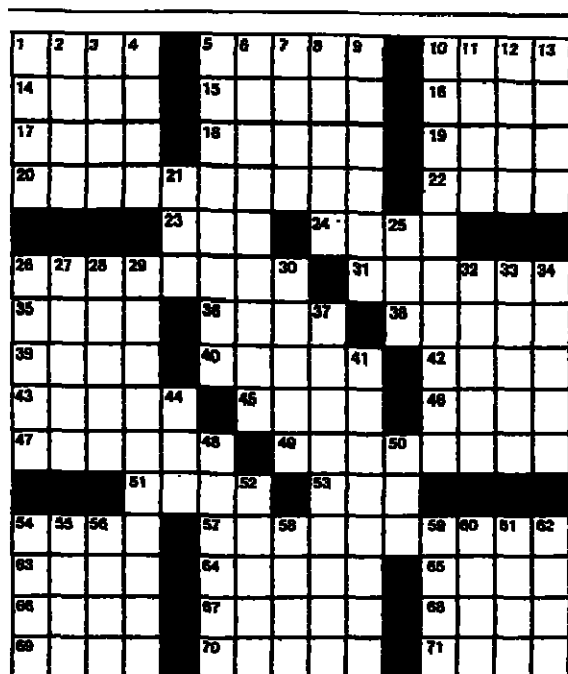
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## CROSSWORD



## ACROSS

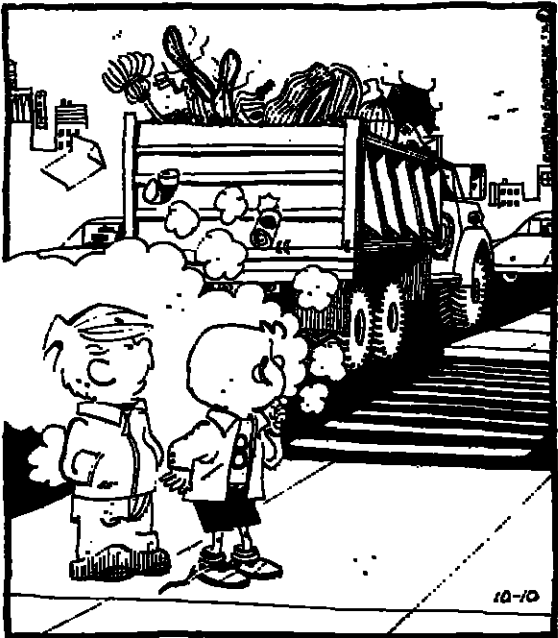
1 Went down a chute  
5 Piles  
10 Soviet river  
14 Leaf  
15 Actress  
16 Wine valley  
17 Andy's partner  
18 Tux and gallop  
19 Scott, of court decision  
20 Easter purchase  
22 Let up  
23 High-pitched, in music  
24 Prohibit  
25 7:30 P.M. on B'way  
31 Mongolians  
33 Corn concoction  
36 Coming up  
38 Pleasurable event  
39 Mineral deposits  
40 Cheesecake  
42 Yen  
43 Carries on  
45 Govt. workers  
46 Manner  
47 Most mature  
48 Garden tools

## DOWN

1 Health clubs  
2 Device for Aladdin  
3 Prince in an opera  
4 Son of Arnez  
5 This goes on at some bazars  
6 Action on Capitol Hill  
7 Exchange premium  
8 Agave plants  
9 Six-line stanza  
10 Bridge  
11 — avia  
12 Simians  
13 Put on cargo  
14 "I earn that I": Shat.  
15 Seed  
16 Of a time series  
17 Upright  
18 Certain winds  
19 Finals, e.g.  
20 Hilltop home  
21 One in a fury  
24 British guns  
26 Vagabond  
27 Chained  
28 Remo-L.A. dir.  
29 Enlarge  
30 Done in  
31 "East of Eden" character  
32 Buckle handle  
33 Singer  
34 Fitzgerald  
35 Rumanian city  
36 Cold and wet  
37 Clarinet's cousin  
38 Telegram  
39 One of the tides

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## DENNIS THE MENACE



## JUMBLE

Unscramble these four jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

**NYSAP**  
\_ \_ \_ \_ \_

**FRACT**  
\_ \_ \_ \_ \_

**BUHEM**  
\_ \_ \_ \_ \_

**BREMME**  
\_ \_ \_ \_ \_

Answer here: \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ IN \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

Friday's Jumble: TONIC STOOP POISON COUSIN

Answer: Everything you should know about entrances and exits—THE INS & OUTS

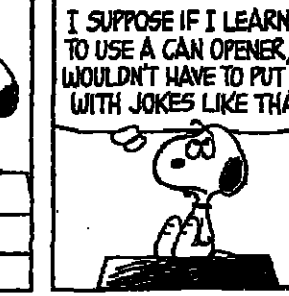
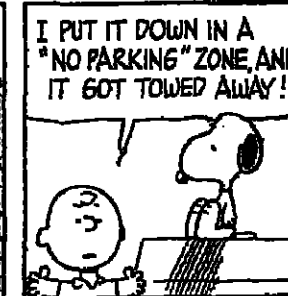
## WEATHER

EUROPE			ASIA		
	HIGH	LOW		HIGH	LOW
Algeria	62	48	Beijing	62	48
Athens	62	48	Bombay	62	48
Berlin	62	48	Hong Kong	62	48
Bombay	62	48	Kobe	62	48
Buenos Aires	62	48	Manila	62	48
Calcutta	62	48	Osaka	62	48
Cairo	62	48	Seoul	62	48
Cardenas	62	48	Singapore	62	48
Chengdu	62	48	Taipei	62	48
Colon	62	48	Tokyo	62	48
Dallas	62	48			
Dhaka	62	48			
Guangzhou	62	48			
Hankow	62	48			
Hong Kong	62	48			
Kobe	62	48			
London	62	48			
Los Angeles	62	48			
Manila	62	48			
Medan	62	48			
Memphis	62	48			
Moscow	62	48			
Mytilene	62	48			
Nairobi	62	48			
San Francisco	62	48			
Seattle	62	48			
Shanghai	62	48			
Singapore	62	48			
Sourabaya	62	48			
Taipei	62	48			
Tokyo	62	48			
Yokohama	62	48			

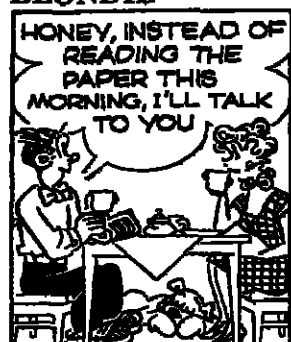
Cloudy: c; foggy: f; fair: f; hazy: h; overcast: o; partly cloudy: pc; rain: r; snow: s; storm: st.

**MONDAY'S FORECAST**—CHANNING: Heavy. FRANKFURT: Overcast and rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). DUBLIN: Rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). MADRID: Fair. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). NEW YORK: Partly cloudy. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). PARIS: Overcast and rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). ROME: Cloudy and rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). TEL AVIV: Fair. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). ZURICH: Fair. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). **TUESDAY'S FORECAST**—CHANNING: Heavy. FRANKFURT: Overcast and rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). DUBLIN: Rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). MADRID: Fair. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). NEW YORK: Partly cloudy. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). PARIS: Overcast and rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). ROME: Cloudy and rain. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). TEL AVIV: Fair. Temp. 10-11 (45-50). ZURICH: Fair. Temp. 10-11 (45-50).

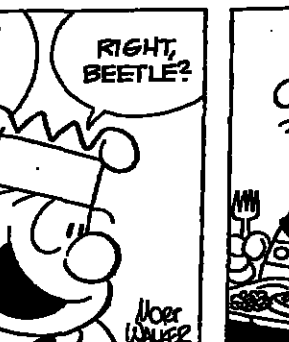
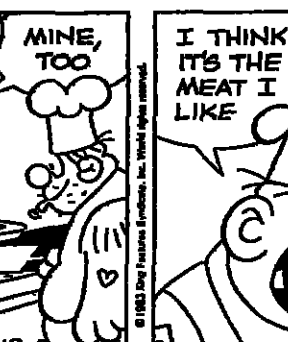
## PEANUTS



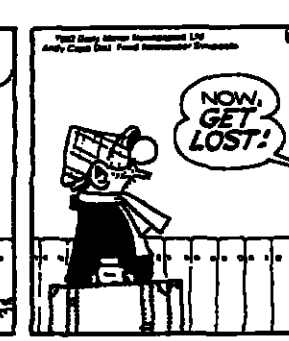
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## BEETLE BAILEY



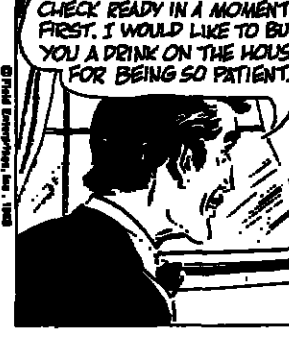
## ANDY CAPP



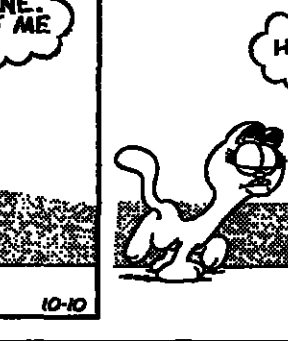
## WIZARD OF ID



## REX MORGAN



## GARFIELD



## NHL Standings

Team	W	L	T	GF	GA
NY Rangers	10	3	0	45	24
Pittsburgh	10	3	0	45	24
Philadelphia	10	3	0	45	24
Washington	10	3	0	45	24
Calgary	10	3	0	45	24
Edmonton	10	3	0	45	24
Los Angeles	10	3	0	45	24
San Jose	10	3	0	45	24
Vancouver	10	3	0	45	24
Winnipeg	10	3	0	45	24

Team	W	L	T	GF	GA
Quebec	10	3	0	45	24
St. Louis	10	3	0	45	24
Toronto	10	3	0	45	24
Atlanta	10	3	0	45	24
Buffalo	10	3	0	45	24
Montreal	10	3	0	45	24

Team	W	L	T	GF	GA
St. Louis	10	3	0	45	24
Toronto	10	3	0	45	24
Atlanta	10	3	0	45	24
Buffalo	10	3	0	45	24
Montreal	10	3	0	45	24

Team	W	L	T	GF	GA
St. Louis	10	3	0	45	24
Toronto	10	3	0	45	24
Atlanta	10	3	0	45	24
Buffalo	10	3	0	45	24
Montreal	10	3	0	45	24

## COLLEGE FOOTBALL

polls before the game, improved their record to 4-0. Oklahoma fell to 3-2.

In typical fashion, the Longhorns won with strong running and strong defense. But, in contrast to previous games, their best play was restricted to the second half. With 2:04 gone in the third quarter, the Longhorns had lost the ball on three fumbles and trailed by 10-7.

From that point on, however, the Longhorn offense began to work.

By the end of the third period,

they led 28-10 after touchdown runs of 2 yards by the fullback Ronnie Robinson, 2 yards by the fullback Ervin Davis and 67 yards by Edwin Simmons, a freshman tailback. Simmons also scored on an 8-yard run in the second period that had tied the score, 7-7.

The Longhorns made the lead hold up. In the third quarter, the Sooners prevented the Sooners from succeeding on a two-point conversion after Oklahoma's quarterback, Danny Bradley, ran 37 yards for a touchdown with 10:02 remaining. The Sooners' 16 points were the most allowed by Texas this season.

Penn State 34, Alabama 28

In State College, Pennsylvania, Penn State knocked Alabama from the unbeaten ranks with a 34-28 victory.

Penn State, last year's national champions, lost its first three games this season and was an eight-point underdog against Alabama. Bear Bryant's successor at Alabama, Ray Perkins, suffered his first loss as a college head coach despite a fourth-quarter comeback. The Crimson Tide fell 2 yards short on the final play of the game.

In reports on other games from United Press International:

Nebraska 14, Oklahoma State 10

In Stillwater, Oklahoma, top-ranked Nebraska overcame five turnovers to score a 14-10 Big Eight victory over Oklahoma State. Nebraska's Turner Gill threw touchdown passes of 62 and 32 yards to spoil a strong defensive effort by Oklahoma State.

North Carolina 30, Wake Forest 10

In Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Ethan Horton and Eddie Colson scored two touchdowns each to lift North Carolina over Wake Forest, 30-10. The Tar Heels, 6-0, set a school record with three runners rushing for more than 100 yards.

Romnie Black was in second place at 202 after shooting a 65. Following Black were Mark McCumber and Payne Stewart at 205. McCumber had six birdies for a 64. Stewart, the first-round leader, had a 68.

BARCELONA — Top-seeded Mats Wilander won the Count of Goda Tennis Tournament here Sunday by defeating second-seeded Guillermo Vilas, 6-0, 6-3, 6-1. The 19-year-old Swede needed one hour and 40 minutes to win before 5,000 spectators.

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## BOOKS

## HOOPLA

By Harry Stein. 366 pp. \$14.95.  
Knopf, 201 East 50th St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

Reviewed by Jonathan Yardley

THE "Black Sox" Scandal of 1919, in which eight members of the heavily favored Chicago White Sox conspired to throw the World Series to the Cincinnati Reds, was an event that far transcended the limited horizons of the world of sport. World War I, which had ended a year before, had mocked American innocence in an orgy of meaningless bloodshed and agony; now the Black Sox scandal compounded the nation's brutal introduction to life's realities by showing that baseball, a game generally regarded as uniquely American and thus uniquely virtuous, was as susceptible to manipulation and chicanery as any of society's supposedly less scrupulous institutions.

Not surprisingly, the scandal has been discussed over the years a considerable body of legend and literature. From the myth of Shoeless Joe Jackson ("Say it ain't so, Joe") to F. Scott Fitzgerald's mordant immortalization of the gambler who "could start to play with the faith of 50 million people—with the single-mindedness of a burglar blowing a safe," the scandal has inspired more comment and reflection than many events of seemingly greater magnitude. But it has never inspired a work of serious fiction—scenes and vignettes and references, yes, but never an entire novel.

Until now, that is. Harry Stein, who writes an interesting column about ethical questions for Esquire magazine, has attempted to fill the void in this first novel. To the extent that he raises some pertinent themes and makes some provocative comments, he has succeeded. But as a work of fiction, "Hoopla" suffers from debilitating weaknesses, the most serious of which is an utter lack of anything resembling center: it is offered as a novel about the Black Sox Scandal, but from the way it wanders this way and that, ambling off into fruitless digressions, it hardly seems a novel about anything at all.

It has two narrators. The first, and the most interesting, is a New York journalist named Luther Pond, an entirely fictional character; he is an old man as he writes this memoir of his early newspapering days. The second is Back

Weaver, who played third base for the Black Sox and was one of the eight men eventually barred from organized baseball for his role in the scandal; he is a historical figure to whom Stein, following current fashion, has chosen to give a new life as a character in a work of fiction.

Pond's narrative is the more appealing, notwithstanding his cynicism and self-aggrandizement, because he writes in an amusing prose style and has a knowing eye for the shortcomings of ballplayers and the sporting crowd. His judgment is that baseball players, "though often ignorant, occasionally brilliant and invariably less interesting than anyone else one deals with in the course of life, tended toward bloodied self-esteem." But his attempts to insinuate this view into his reportage are strongly resisted by his editors; when one tells him that "we happen not to be in the business of hero reduction in this paper," he speaks to one of Stein's central themes—that the Black Sox Scandal was the beginning of the end for the blind hero-worship in which athletes then basked.

As for Weaver's narrative, it suffers from serious drawbacks. The first is that although Weaver is represented as having written his sections of the book, they have the sound and rhythm of speech. The second, and the more serious, is that Stein places too heavy a narrative responsibility on someone he did not invent: that Back Weaver was a real person is a truth from which the reader never manages to escape, and the knowledge of this is an annoying constant. It is never more so than when Weaver, witness to an estimated 100,000 fans at the White Sox game, is asked to put a signature on a baseball. Stein writes that "Back Weaver apparently has no direct descendants; there is no one around to object to this except the reader who feels it is one thing for Stein to put a historical figure in a work of fiction and another for him to play fast and loose with that figure's private life."

Be that as it may, Stein's "Weaver" addresses important points when he complains about the exploitation of ballplayers by the moguls of the game; as is by now generally accepted, a principal reason why the scandal occurred was that all but a few White Sox players were deeply indebted, with simple reason, at the ways they had been cheated by the team's owner, Charles Comiskey, and this question Stein handles with considerable skill. As expressed by Weaver, his reader will appreciate that "the national game is a business, like shipping or something like that, and the moguls do what they please."

If Stein had stuck to this point and to the particulars of the Black Sox Scandal, he might have pulled off the mixture of fiction and fact that "Hoopla" aspires to be. But more than 250 pages have passed before 1919 is reached, and precious few of those pages are pertinent to anything except a rambling digression on hero-worship and the relationship between hero-athletes and the journalists who can make or break them. "Hoopla" goes off in so many directions that in the end it goes nowhere. This is a pity, because Stein is a decent writer and has interesting things to say.

Jonathan Yardley is on the staff of The Washington Post.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

CONSIDER the diagrammed deal, from a duplicate game. It proved to have analytical wheels within wheels. A simple auction led to three no-trump, and West led the spade ten.

The question to consider is: Would you rather play or defend?

At many tables the ten was covered with the jack, king and ace. South established diamonds, and after holding up his ace as long as possible, West continued spades. The declarer took the spade queen, cashed the two remaining diamond winners and played hearts to make his contract. All the defense could score was two spade tricks and two red aces.

The first point noted by the analysts was that East made an

error in playing his spade king in the first trick. If he possessed that card, South's entry to dummy disappears prematurely, and he is limited to two tricks in each suit.

It was then suggested that South made an error in playing an honor from dummy at the first trick. If he plays low from dummy and wins with the ace, he will have a sure entry to dummy in the long run. The conclusion was drawn that South can make his game if he plays carefully.

Further thought shows that this is not true, and that the best defense will always defeat contract. If South takes the spade ace and plays aces and kings, West holds up until the third round. Instead of continuing spades, however, he shifts to a club, a key play.

South cannot do better than

win and play a spade, forcing his way back to dummy, and East wins and plays another club. South can win which dummy to score his established diamonds, but will never collect a heart trick. West will be waiting at the finish with two club tricks and the heart ace.

Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding:

North: 1♠, 2♠, 3♠, 4♠, 5♠, 6♠, 7♠, 8♠, 9♠, 10♠, 11♠, 12♠, 13♠, 14♠, 15♠, 16♠, 17♠, 18♠, 19♠, 20♠, 21♠, 22♠, 23♠, 24♠, 25♠, 26♠, 27♠, 28♠, 29♠, 30♠, 31♠, 32♠, 33♠, 34♠, 35♠, 36♠, 37♠, 38♠, 39♠, 40♠, 41♠, 42♠, 43♠, 44♠, 45♠, 46♠, 47♠, 48♠, 49♠, 50♠, 51♠, 52♠, 53♠, 54♠, 55♠, 56♠, 57♠, 58♠, 59♠, 60♠, 61♠, 62♠, 63♠, 64♠, 65♠, 66♠, 67♠, 68♠, 69♠, 70♠, 71♠, 72♠, 73♠, 74♠, 75♠, 76♠, 77♠, 78♠, 79♠, 80♠, 81♠, 82♠, 83♠, 84♠, 85♠, 86♠, 87♠, 88♠, 89♠, 90♠, 91♠, 92♠, 93♠, 94♠, 95♠, 96♠, 97♠, 98♠, 99♠, 100♠, 101♠, 102♠, 103♠, 104♠, 105♠, 106♠, 107♠, 108♠, 109♠, 110♠, 111♠, 112♠, 113♠, 114♠, 115♠, 116♠, 117♠, 118♠, 119♠, 120♠, 121♠, 122♠, 123♠, 124♠, 125♠, 126♠, 127♠, 128♠, 129♠, 130♠, 131♠, 132♠, 133♠, 134♠, 135♠, 136♠, 137♠, 138♠, 139♠, 140♠, 141♠, 142♠, 143♠, 144♠, 145♠, 146♠, 147♠, 148♠, 149♠, 150♠, 151♠, 152♠, 153♠, 154♠, 155♠, 156♠, 157







## LANGUAGE

## To Split or Not to Split?

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — When teen-age infinitives get into their pants, they will say to each other: "Let's split." Their stodgy parents, suddenly afflicted with a splitting Jordache, ask themselves: "Why do so many infinitives split these days?"

For centuries, writers have been warned to avoid splitting infinitives. To split *gloriously* is preferred; to *gloriously split* is frowned upon. For some reason, the insertion of an adverb between the *to* and the rest of the verb in its infinitive form causes most arbiters of newspaper style to say sternly: "It is to laugh heartily," and never: "It is to laugh heartily laugh."

For example, when Charles M. Lichtenstein, the deputy chief of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, felt provoked by Soviet snubs on American hospitality, he said: "The United States strongly encourages member states seriously to consider removing themselves and this organization from the soil of the United States." He went on to say: "We will be at bedside bidding you a farewell as you set off into the sunset."

An alert Wall Street Journal editorialist quickly pointed out the metaphorical "difficulty of sailing into the sunset from New York harbor." The United Nations' location on the East Coast permits sailing into sunrises only.

However, a transcript of the United Nations talk shows Lichtenstein to have been strictly to the grammarian's delight in the use of the infinitive: "Seriously to consider" shows that the statement was composed with great care. Most people would have said "to seriously consider."

"In general," generalizes the Associated Press, "avoid awkward constructions that split infinitive forms of a verb. . . . Awkward: She was ordered to leave immediately on an assignment." Preferred: She was ordered to leave immediately on an assignment."

But that's not the problem at all. Most of the time, the split infinitive looks natural and the unsplit form looks pedantic. To *seriously object* is certainly as natural to the tongue and eye as to *object strenuously*, and both are less awkward than *strenuously to object*.

The real problem is this: If nei-

ther way is awkward, is it right and proper to split the infinitive? Who has attached a stigma to the placement of the modifier in the middle?

Not the great grammarians. George O. Curme, the superstar of grammar two generations ago, wrote: "Since the 14th century . . . the split infinitive, by virtue of its decided advantages, which have been gradually gaining ground. . . . Although this new drift has long been regarded by many who do not understand it as plebeian or vulgar, there have never been any real grounds for such an attitude, for it has never been characteristic of popular speech." He cites Abraham Lincoln's plea to border states for compensated emancipation: "How much better to thus save the money which else we sink forever in the war?" That is more graceful than *thus to save or to save thusly*.

Henry Fowler agreed. "A real s.l., though not desirable in itself, is preferable to . . . real ambiguity, and to patient artificiality." He chose the infinitive-splitting to *better equip*, rejecting to *equip better* as "ambiguous (better an adjective)" and *better to equip* as "a shouted reminder of the tyranny of artificiality in the pedant."

If you want to emphasize a point, splitting an infinitive is a good way to do it. In light of all this, I recommend that infinitive splitters of the world unite. We have nothing to lose but our hang-ups. If we want to touch lightly on a topic, we should preserve the integrity of the infinitive form; if we want to viciously savage it, we are free to split the infinitive to smithereens. No stigma attaches to the splitting, nor did it ever in the minds of many of the most prestigious usurers. Let us put the modifier in the place — before the *to*, just after it, or after the verb — where it works best.

If you are not satisfied with the Voice of Final Authority booming in this space, listen to George Bernard Shaw, creator of "Pygmalion": "Every good literary craftsman splits his infinitives when the sense demands it." He called for the mediator, mediator of the pedant hired to chase split infinitives and concluded: "It is of no consequence whether he decides to go quickly or to quickly go."

New York Times Service

## Ah, Sweet Mysteries of Song

There's a Lot More to Vocal Terminology Than You Suspect

By Donald Henahan

New York Times Service

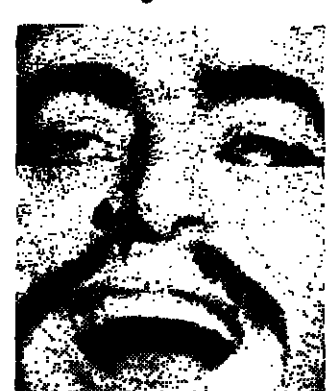
NEW YORK — What's an "A-flat tenor"? It's a male creature with an upper voice constricted in range and quality, just as you might guess even without looking up the term in Cornelius L. Reid's "A Dictionary of Vocal Terminology." But is an "A-flat tenor" different from a "necktie tenor," and if so, how? What does it mean to say that a singer is "chewing bread" or "drinking in the tone"? What is the difference between a tone with "ping" and one with "ring"?

I have been enjoying myself recently by reading Reid's dictionary, a 478-page volume published by Joseph Paterson Music House and priced at \$39.95. Perhaps the book's chief value, aside from any pleasure or enlightenment it may provide to ordinary music listeners, lies in its attempt to bring order to the terminological confusion that besets the vocal profession. Listening to singers and their teachers try to explain their theories you realize what the construction workers on the Tower of Babel must have been up against. The words, having no commonly accepted meanings, become a jumble of sense and nonsense. Teachers often use the same words to mean opposite things: Reid insists that the phrase "in the tone" actually refers to a tone that is produced too far forward, because of a constriction high in the pharyngeal tract. In this, as in many similar instances, what a singer or teacher may be feeling and trying to describe may quite differ from what is taking place physiologically.

Much of the *terminological* debate that has raged among voice teachers, especially in this century, can be explained by their reliance on just such loose talk. "A Dictionary of Vocal Terminology" is an attempt to impose some standards on this messy situation, calling as much as possible on scientifically ascertainable evidence but also attempting to promote agreement on certain commonly used terms such as "purity of intonation" and "wob-

ble." Reid, who has written several books on voice training, is a practical man who can content himself with a curt definition when a longer one would belabor the obvious ("In Voice: being in good vocal form"). But when the subject is one that singers, singing teachers and even informed laymen may disagree about, he is happy to pile on the facts and to marshal them in support of his own pedagogical theories. He gives 11 pages to "Breathing," for instance, eight to "Falsetto" and five to "Lowered Larynx."

One discussion in depth concerns the ancient question of voice registers, which under various categories and subcategories, theorists have not even been able to agree on the basic question of how many registers there are. A minority has contended that there is only one register, that the ideally trained voice has no natural divisions. But most opinion is divided between two-register (chest and head) and three-register (lower, middle, upper) theories. Reid favors the two-register theory, which formed the basis of most training methods before the invention of the laryngoscope in 1854. He inclines toward the view that much of the study of voices by laryngoscope has been scientifically invalid. He favors calling the two registers the "chest" and the "falsetto," a terminology that prevailed through much of vocal history and that Reid justifies by citing modern evidence that I do not intend to go into here because



The vocal equipment of tenor Luciano Pavarotti.

it would bring me nothing but piles of contentious letters from singing teachers.

Much of the physiological analysis in Reid's entries is technical, of course, and will interest only his fellow theorists. Probably not many singers could, if put to the test, tell where their posterior cricoid cartilage is located, let alone say what purpose it serves. However, this is a reference book that anyone interested in singing can dip into with profit. Do you want to know the difference between "heroic tenor" and "dramatic tenor"? (For one thing, the heroic tenor's natural tessitura or most comfortable average range is slightly lower than that of the dramatic tenor.) Should a soprano be pleased or insulted if you say her tone is "sweet"? How about "mellow"? (Both are derogatory words in the "vocalary.") Does the "raspy" or "raspy" occur in about the same place for both male and female voices? (Yes.) What is the difference between the vocal organs of men and women? (No difference except size, according to those who have measured excised larynxes.)

What is meant by "placement," "marking," "covering" and "belting"? What, exactly, are "fluting," "focussed" or "dark" tones? Do you know what the "gag reflex" is and what function it may play in vocal training? (Touching the tongue with a finger releases throat tension and can be vocally useful, though probably not during performance.)

Among many authoritative-sounding but highly suspect terms tossed about in discussions of singing are "head resonance," "chest resonance," "mouth resonance" and "nasal resonance." This is another instance where subjective impressions parade as facts. Reid says research has proved that virtually all voice resonance takes place in the throat, or more specifically in the trachea, larynx and pharynx. The tone only seems, in some deplorable cases, to be coming from a sinus, left nostril or unfilled wisdom tooth.

Considering the confused history of vocal teaching and the fact that the field has always been



## JERUSALEM POSTCARD

## Historic Shopping Mall

By Jonathan Immanuel  
The Associated Press

JERUSALEM — Five years ago, Jerusalem's ancient main street was no more than a black strip on an obscure map and a glimmer in the eye of a determined archaeologist. Today it is Jerusalem's smartest shopping mall.

The Roman-Byzantine street, 1,400 years old, presents the visitor with a striking combination of old and new. Ancient columns and remnants of arches blend with sparkling boutiques selling art, books and high fashion.

The reclaimed 200-year stretch of street is the showpiece of reconstruction work on Aelia Capitolina, the Roman city built on the ruins of Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter, which Emperor Hadrian razed in A.D. 135.

Archaeologists and architects have remodeled the road, called the Cardo Maximus in Latin, using remnants of walls, arches, pillars and stones recovered from a six-foot-deep accumulation of debris.

Smart, modern shops have been built in the alcoves from which Byzantine merchants sold their wares 14 centuries ago. On the stamps of ancient pillars, a roof of cross-arched arches has been built in the style of the Christian Byzantine architecture which replaced the Roman fashion.

"It makes me feel like I'm back in time. It's not like a shopping mall at all. It's more like a museum come to life," says Hava Mandell, 21, a Canadian Jewish immigrant who works in a fashion boutique on the Cardo.

The Cardo built by Hadrian was much longer, but most of it is buried and cannot be uncovered without endangering the warren of buildings that makes up Jerusalem's old walled city.

However, the entrance gate to the Roman road and a few yards of paving have been excavated near the city's Damascus Gate and is now the oldest paved path in use in Jerusalem. Older street stones were uncovered on the street that Christians believe was the Via Dolorosa, the path followed by Calvary. But these have not been made into a continuous paved path.

The Byzantines built their own extension of the Roman Cardo, but it gradually disappeared under centuries of destruction and rebuilding, and was only uncovered when

the Israelis, having captured the walled city from Jordan in 1967, began rehabilitating the Jewish Quarter.

The Cardo's existence first came to light in 1884 when a mosaic map of the Holy Land was uncovered on the floor of a Byzantine Church in Madaba, Jordan. The Cardo was marked by a black strip through the center of the map, but archaeologists saw little chance that it could be found.

However, 78-year-old Dr. Nahman Avigad, the archaeologist who dug up the ancient Jewish Quarter, persisted in searching for the Cardo, and finally uncovered it. He also found remains of the ancient Babylonian and Roman walls around Jerusalem.

These walls, deep below the Cardo, can be seen through grill-covered chimes embedded in the street. Also on display are Babylonian spearheads and stone missiles from a Roman catapult. The weapons, found in the ruins, were believed to have served the Babylonians in 586 B.C. and the Romans in A.D. 70, during the two sieges of Jerusalem in which the Jewish Temple was destroyed.

Several pillars with Corinthian capitals from a covered colonnade have been recovered and erected in an open courtyard on the road. They are 15 feet high and the road 33 feet wide. The road was twice as wide when built, but cannot be fully uncovered lest the upper city cave in.

Entry to the Byzantine Cardo is through an archway that shuts the Arab market. The Jewish Quarter was partially destroyed and taken over by Arab families following the 1949 partitioning of Jerusalem. After 1967, the Israelis cleared out.

## Reduced Libel Award Upheld in Burnett Case

Los Angeles Times Service

SAN FRANCISCO — The California state Supreme Court has left intact an appellate decision that reduced from \$750,000 to \$150,000 a punitive damage award won by the entertainer Carol Burnett in a libel suit against the National Enquirer.

The justices, in a brief order, declined to review a 2-1 ruling made last July by the state Court of Appeal in Los Angeles.

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